National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Selections.

From the Boston Atlas.

NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN SLAVES.

Hon. J. Clemens:—My attention has been directed to a letter addressed by you to Mr. Wallingford, of this town. Being one that composed the meeting that passed the "senseless resolutions" of which you speak, I beg leave to reply.

You state that you did not wish to be understood that 'the mechanics and manufacturers were slaves;' your allusion was to the operatives—to the day laborers. Let me here observe, that the authors of those resolutions are the operatives: and there are no other persons employed in the factories at the North but such as we are. We work under the employ of a manufacturing company; but for all that we consider ourselves no more slaves—no more subject to the "tyranny" of which you so unjustly complain, than the slaveholder to his ill-treated slave. We are free to speak and utter our sentiments upon any subject, to worship our Creator in any manner we wish; and we would scorn the man that was so servile and self-debased as to fear the name and threats of his employer so much, as not to speak boldly his private, political, and religious opinions, in any situation of life whatever, even if they did conflict with those of his greatest benefactor. We are no man-worshippers—no man-fearers—no man-servants. We maintain that the employer is as much beholden to us for his daily support and comfort, as we to him. Nor do we allow of any ill-timed dictation, or any usurpation of unjust powers over us. We stand in the relation to the employer not even as the son to his parent. We are not so obedient and man-serving as that. Whenever the manufacturer's counsels are judicious, his commands just, and his requirements reasonable, we comply, provided it is for our interest and convenience so to do.

This is the "Slavery" at the North. Is there such a state of things South? We believe not. Our "Slavery," as you term it, methinks is as far lifted up in point of moral grandeur and dignity above that of the South, as the heavens above the earth. Indeed, there can be no just comparison between the two; the contrast is so great, that it would be absurd to attempt it. *We have no slaves* with us; a fact, that gladdens the heart of every true New England man.

To show you the truth of the above statements, I will now answer your several interrogatories. Let me premise, that so novel are some of them, so strikingly inconsistent with our true condition that they have begotten no little laughter and much amusement.

Your first question is, "What is the daily pay of each laborer of each class in a New England factory? and at what age are children taken from their parents to put to work."

The pay of male adults is from 75 cents to $3 per day. Board for males is from $1.50 to $2 per week. Females earn from $1.50 to $6 per week, independent of board. There is no male or female but can acquire a great deal more than required to clothe them comfortably and to live in abundance and happiness. It is true, that when persons first seek employ, they cannot obtain quite as much as afterwards: but in no particular instance will the estimate fall short of what I have named, after one learns the nature of the employ. Most of the operatives work by the piece or job: and hence it lies with them, in some degree, what the amount of their pay is. As in every calling in life, some will save from their wages more than others; so it is with the operatives—many of us live in our own houses, elegantly furnished, and as handsomely decorated as one could wish. I know of several females in our village, (not more than 30 years of age,) that own large and commodious houses, got by their daily labor. Others have their money at interest, and are daily adding more to their wealth. So eager are persons, after arriving at a suitable age, to work in a factory, that I have known them leave their paternal roof, where comfort and ease reigned, to become its inmates—a fact, itself, which shows that Slavery, in no form, is with us.

You further ask the time that children are *taken* from their parents to work in the factories? The beauty of our "Slavery" is, that the child is never *taken* from its parents, nor the wife from her husband. We know not what you mean when you speak thus. The parent is free to do what he wills with his child—to send it to school, or give it some employ if he is poor. He is bound by the laws of our State to send his offspring to school, three months in a year, if he wishes them employed in our factories, provided they are under 16 years old. If you are to be understood to ask what age the young are employed in the mills, I answer, there is no regularity observed in this respect. There are but a very few, however, below the age of 16—not one in twenty. But these are not taken from their homes, nor compelled to labor under any employer. They come when they please, and leave when they see fit. They are in nowise bound by the wishes or the desires of the manufacturers.

2. "Is it not true, that one manufacturer will not employ a laborer dismissed by another?"

I answer, no, emphatically no! There may be times, when the moral character of some one is questioned; if so, then there is a refusal if ever. Labor is so scarce, that if such a course was adopted, no factory could find help sufficient for its healthy operations.

3d. "How many hours each day do they actually work?"

From ten to twelve; never more than twelve. Sometimes some parts of the machinery may give out; in such accidents a few may work a little longer; but, even then, they are, in all cases, paid for the extra time or labor.

4th. "Does the manufacturer take care of them when sick, or pay for medical attendance?"

This question is asked in a curious state of mind, and perhaps it arises from ignorance, or at least from a want of proper information of the institutions with us. We believe the laborer is worthy of his hire, and consequently competent to provide for himself in health and sickness. The employer pays his laborers well; and if prudent and economical, they can rise to wealth and affluence. There is no more necessity for the manufacturer to pay for the sickness of operatives in the majority of cases, than for a slaveholder to pay for a brother slaveholder's sickness. In extreme cases, where disease is protracted and the employed has no means of sustenance, ready aid and assistance are seldom withheld. In many instances the operative is worth more than the owner. How then, in justice, can the latter be required to support the former in sickness?

5th. "How many pass annually from the factory to the poor house?"

Of the employed, not one in a thousand. But if poverty seeks them, from sickness, or disability to labor, a few may go, and but a few. In this town, with a population of 10,000, (and of these nearly 2,000 are operatives) there are now less than thirty in the poor house, of all classes of society; and I will venture to say that not more than three or four ever saw the inside of a factory. The most of these consist of foreign population. Other manufacturing towns in our State will be found thus free of pauperism.

6th. "Do you allow any one to visit a factory girl without a written permission from the male overseer?"

Yes. In some factories there are certain regulations for the convenience and regularity of the labor. Formerly a *pass*, was required from the agent, to allow strangers to visit the mills, but now it is less frequently demanded. This was enforced solely to keep strangers from overflooding the different rooms, and obstructing the progress of the labor.—In no instance within my knowledge was a factory girl withheld from seeing any visitor.

You here speak of the 'male overseer." Let me define him. He is a man, placed there from his knowledge, to regulate the machinery, employ the help, and watch the progress of work. He stands with no lash in his hand, no angry, sullen look upon his countenance. He can inflict no punishment.—He is compelled to work patiently himself, and has to suit the whims and fancies of those favoring him with their labor, or his room would be often destitute of its requisite laborers. Is not this species of overseer far different from those at the South, that treat the slave as a beast?

7. "Who takes care of the operative when old age or infirmity comes upon him?"

The same that guards the poor of the farmer, merchant, or any other class of persons in our midst. The poor of every town are supported by taxation. The manufacturer supports them by this tax, which is laid alike upon all property. We can see no reason why he is to be held to provide for the poor, more than any other person. If he had the labor of the operative from youth without remuneration of course he should be responsible to take care of the aged in infirmity. But such is not the fact. We have no Slavery here where is demanded the weary toil of a whole life without any reward; therefore we cannot expect to have such glorious privileges (!) as the poor with you. When decrepitude and want creep upon any one the guardians of the law have abundantly and wisely provided an asylum for such.

Lastly, you are anxious to know the kind and quantity of food we consume. We have whatever we can purchase. No measure is allowed for our drink, no weight to the quanty of food we eat. We have whatever the seasons afford. The treasures of commerce, and the bounties of earth are ours.—*What food we consume!* We consume as much as we want, and as good as was ever tasted by a Southern man. And I venture to assert, without fear of contradiction, that we are as free to choose what we may eat as you yourself. Thank Heaven, we have no masters to mete out to us our daily subsistence—no torture to compel us to unholy toil—no overseer to trample us in the dust. We are free as the air we breathe, and at liberty to go wheresoever our wishes tend. We call no man master at the North nor do we acknowledge any earthly one. We are not debarred from the embrace of friends, nor from the enjoyment and pleasure of social intercourse.—The charms of education,—the refinement of a well disciplined mind,—the distinctions and emoluments of society, are within the grasp of every one; and many are blessed with as delicate sensibilities, and as cultivated tastes as any class of people upon the globe. Not only so; we are shut out from no custom nor rights of society—our privileges are equal with the richest man, and never below any human being. We have no masters over us, that frown at us when we seek for information and knowledge upon any subject, and consequently they have no runaway slaves.

Your sympathy for the "sons and daughters of toil" is well, if it were directed to the right channel. We should appreciate it if it were strictly honest. But you do not understand the nature of our institutions and occupations, if you at once suppose that we are insensible to our true condition, or that any tyrant lords over us. Since the story, so indelibly impressed upon our memories, of the patriotic exertions of our fathers, and their unwavering devotion to freedom, we have not, nor shall we allow any one to tyranize or usurp undue authority over us. We, at the North, maintain that all, of whatever color, class, or condition, are of Heaven born, and should be equal so far as political, religious and social advantages are concerned. We not only profess such principles but possess them.

You say *your sympathy is with us!* I can scarcely believe it. If so, turn your sympathy in another direction. Listen to the cries and groans of three millions of human beings, panting and longing earnestly for freedom; after their condition is ameliorated, you can with some justice, direct your sympathising (?) towards the imaginary wrongs and persecutions of your Northern sons and daughters of toil.

Allow me to say, sir, in conclusion, that no language could be more offensive to us, than to call us slaves. Are we slaves because we labor for a livelihood? Then all effort, bodily and mental, is Slavery—a conclusion which no sensible man would come to. But if you should not believe our account, after the perusal of this letter, we invite you to the North, where you shall everywhere see the monuments of our freedom, and by viewing our kind hospitalities, and our unremitting attentions to our comfort and convenience, we hope to convince you of our superiority over the Southern slave.

Yours, respectfully,

JAMES JOHNSON.

Dover, N. H. Feb. 4, 1850.

ORIGIN OF NEGRO SLAVERY.

It is generally known that Negro Slavery was introduced into America in order to relieve the Indians who were worn down by the severe labors that were put upon them, and Bartolome de Las Casas has the credit of being the one who first proposed that Africans should be imported to take the place of the Indians. We find the following curious note on this subject in Mr. Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature, Vol. 1, p. 564.—*Christian Register.*

"There is a valuable life of Las Casas in Quintana, "Vidas de Espanoles Celebres" (Madrid, 1833, 12mo, Tom. III. pp. 255—510.) The seventh article in the Appendix, concerning the connection of Las Casas with the slave-trade, will be read with particular interest: because, by materials drawn from unpublished documents of unquestionable authenticity, it makes it certain, that, although at one time Las Casas favored what had been begun earlier,—the transportation of negroes to the West Indies, in order to relieve the Indians,—as other good men in his time favored it, he did so under the impression, that, according to the law of nations, the negroes thus brought to America were both rightful captives taken by the Portuguese in war and rightful slaves. But afterwards he changed his mind on this subject. He declared "the captivity of the negroes to be as unjust as that of the Indians."—"ser tan injusto el cautiverio de los negros como el de los Indios,"—and even expressed a fear, that, though he had fallen into the error of favoring the importation of black slaves into America from ignorance and good will, he might, after all, fail to stand excused for it before the Divine Justice."

The whole account of Las Casas, as given by Mr. Ticknor, is so interesting, that we are glad to quote it here.

"But both during his life and after his death, Oviedo had a formidable adversary, who, pursuing nearly the same course of inquiries respecting the New World, came almost constantly to conclusions quite opposite. This was no less a person than Bartolome de las Casas, or Casaus, the apostle and defender of the American Indians,—a man who would have been remarkable in any age of the world, and who does not seem yet to have gathered in the full harvest of his honors. He was born in Seville, probably in 1474; and in 1502, having gone through a course of studies at Salamanca, embarked for the Indies, where his father, who had been there with Columbus nine years earlier, had already accumulated a decent fortune.

The attention of the young man was early drawn to the condition of the natives, from the circumstance, that one of them given to his father by Columbus, had been attached to his own person as a slave, while he was still at the University; and he was not slow to learn, on his arrival in Hispaniola, that their gentle natures and slight frames had already been subjected, in the mines and in other forms of toil, to a servitude so harsh, that the original inhabitants of the island were beginning to waste away under the severities of their labors. From this moment he devoted his life to their emancipation. In 1510 he took holy orders, and continued as a priest, and for a short time as Bishop of Chiapa, nearly forty years, to teach, strengthen, and console the suffering flock committed to his charge. Six times, at least, he crossed the Atlantic, in order to persuade the government of Charles the Fifth to ameliorate their condition, and always with more or less success. At last, but not until 1547, when he was above seventy years old, he established himself at Valladolid, in Spain, where he passed the remainder of his serene old age, giving it freely to the great cause to which he had devoted the freshness of his youth. He died, while on a visit of business, at Madrid, in 1566, at the advanced age, as is commonly supposed, of ninety-two.

Among the principal opponents of his benevolence were Sepulveda,—one of the leading men of letters and casuists of the time in Spain,—and Oviedo, who, from his connection with the mines and his share in the government of different parts of the newly discovered countries, had an interest directly opposite to the one Las Casas defended. These two persons, with large means and a wide influence, to sustain them, intrigued, wrote, and toiled against him, in every way in their power. But his was not a spirit to be daunted by opposition or deluded by sophistry and intrigue; and when, in 1519, in a discussion with Sepulveda concerning the Indians, held in the presence of the young and proud Emperor Charles the Fifth, Las Casas said, "It is quite certain, that, speaking with all the respect and reverence due to so great a sovereign, I would not, save in the way of duty and obedience as a subject, go from the place where I now stand to the opposite corner of this room, to serve your Majesty, unless I believed I should at the same time serve God,"—when he said this, he uttered a sentiment that really governed his life and constituted the basis of the great power he exercised. His works are pervaded by it. The earliest of them, called "A very Short account of the Ruin of the Indies," was written in 1542, and dedicated to the prince, afterwards Philip the Second;—a tract in which, no doubt, the sufferings and wrongs of the Indians are much overstated by the indignant zeal of its author, but still one whose expositions are founded in truth, and by their fervor awakened all Europe to a sense of the injustice they set forth. Other short treatises followed, written with similar spirit and power, especially those in reply to Sepulveda; but none was so often reprinted, either at home or abroad, as the first, and none ever produced so deep and solemn an effect on the world. They were all collected and published in 1552; and, besides being translated into other languages at the time, an edition in Spanish, and a French version of the whole, with two more treatises than were contained in the first collection, appeared at Paris in 1822, prepared by Llorente.

The great work of Las Casas, however, still remains inedited,—a General History of the Indians from 1492 to 1520, begun by him in 1527 and finished in 1561, but of which he ordered that no portion should be published within forty years of his death. Like his other works, it shows marks of haste and carelessness, and is written in a rambling style; but its value, notwithstanding his too fervent zeal for the Indians, is great. He had been personally acquainted with many of the early discoveries and conquerors, and, at one time, possessed the papers of Columbus, and a large mass of other important documents, which are now lost. He says he had known Cortes "when he was so low and humble, that he besought favor from the meanest servant of Diego Velasquez;" and he knew him afterwards, he tells us, when, in his pride of place at the court of the Emperor he ventured to jest about the pretty corsair's part he had played in the affairs of Montezuma. He knew, too, Gomara and Oviedo, and gives at large his reasons for differing from them. In short, his book, divided into three parts, is a great repository, to which Herrera, and through him all the historians of the Indies since, have resorted for materials; and without which the history of the earliest period of the Spanish settlements in America cannot, even now, be properly written."

ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE AT GALLINAS.

The advices from Africa, published in our last number, contain the gratifying and important intelligence, that the long blockade of Gallinas by the British cruisers, has induced the slavers at that place to break up their barracoons deliver up their slaves to the commodore and to take passage for themselves and their effects on board Her Majesty's vessels for Sierra Leone. This is the initiative step to the entire abolition of that traffic on the windward coast; the next, and not less important, is the purchase of the territory by the Government of Liberia. That the slaves are given up, the barracoons destroyed, the slavers themselves removed and every vestige of this accursed traffic obliterated, avails nothing, unless proper and sure measures are taken to prevent a reëstablishment of the business, the moment the coast guard is abandoned; and we doubt not, from the tenor of the advices above referred to, that ere this either by purchase or conquest, Gallinas and its independencies are a part and parcel of the commonwealth of Liberia—this measure, only, will ensure it against a reënactment of the scenes of distress and horror which have heretofore rendered that place so infamous.

To enable those not familiar with the slave marts on the western coast of Africa, to estimate the importance of the annexation of Gallinas to Liberia, it is necessary to give a brief sketch of their location and extent, and of the late history of Gallinas.—Previous to the founding of the colonies of Liberia, the slave-trade was rife throughout the whole of what is termed the Grain Coast; in fact, from the Gambia to Cape Palmas, an extent of over 1,500 miles of coast line, excepting only Sierra Leone and its immediate dependencies. The very heart of this extensive slave mart was Gallinas, to which only, Cape Mesurado was second in importance.—That the small band of colonists which boldly located themselves on this beautiful headland in 1821, should have been able to maintain their position amidst the powerful combined influence and action of slavers' gold and savage natives, will ever remain a marvel in the history of that Colony. But they did maintain not only their existence, but their integrity and fair fame, and although it required many years in its accomplishment, and all of blood and treasure which they had to give, the Liberians succeeded effectually in eradicating this traffic from the limits of their territory. After the firm establishment of the colony, the slave trade on the windward coast, or to the north and west of Cape Palmas, was mainly confined to some Portuguese settlements at Bissaos, the Rio Grande, the Nunez and Pongos, Gallinas and its vicinity, Grand and little Bassa, New Cesters and Trade Town. The Bissaos and the river factories to the windward of Sierra Leone were never very prosperous, the slavers finding it very difficult to escape from them without being intercepted by the British cruisers. The small factories at the Bassas were much interrupted by the colonies, and finally extirpated by the purchase of Grand Bassa in 1832; while those at New Cesters and Trade Town were more or less connected with and dependent upon those at Gallinas.

The Gallinas river enters the Atlantic in latitude about 7 1-2 deg., between Grand Cape Mount and Cape St. Ann, near one hundred miles northwest of Cape Messurado, or Monrovia. The name of the river is given to the cluster of slave factories near its mouth. This place possesses no peculiar advantages for any species of commerce, and derives its importance, exclusively, from the establishment of the slave factories there. The land in the vicinity is very low and marshy, the river winds sluggishly through an alluvion of Mangrove marsh, forming innumerable small islands. The bar at the mouth is one of the most dangerous on the coast, being impassible at times in the rainy season. It is located in what is termed the Vey Country, the people of which are distinguished for their cleanliness, intelligence, and enterprise in trade. How long Gallinas has maintained its importance as a slave mart, we are unable to say, but at the time of our first visit to Liberia, in 1831, its reputation was very extensive, and its influence most deeply felt in the colony. It was estimated that near 10,000 slaves were, about that period, annually shipped from this place alone. The business was done, mainly, through the agency of several merchants or factors established there, the principal of which was Pedro Blanco, a Spaniard. This man's influence was unbounded among the native tribes on that section of the coast, and we fear, at one time, extended to members of the colony of considerable respectability. He was a man of education, having the bearing and address of a Spanish Grandee or Don, which was his usual appellation. He lived in a semi-barbarous manner, at once, as a private gentleman and an African prince. He had at one time a sister residing with him. He maintained several establishments, one on an island near the river's mouth, which was his place of business, or of trade with foreign vessels, that came to Gallinas to dispose of merchandise; on another island more remote, was his dwelling house, where he kept his private office, his books, dined, took his siesta, slept, &c; here, we believe, his sister also resided. On a third was his seraglio of native wives, each in their several dwellings, after the manner of native chiefs. Independent of all these were his barracoons of slaves, of greater or less extent, as circumstances required. It may readily be supposed that with the wealth accruing from a long and successful prosecution of the slave trade, his power among the natives was equal to that of any despot; and the following incident related to us by one of his partners proves that he occasionally exercised it. Having occasion one day to travel on the sea beach some distance from Gallinas, near the island of Sherbro, where he was unknown, he approached the hut of a native with a view of taking rest and refreshment. He asked the owner of the house, who was squatted in the door, to hand him fire to light his segar. The man bluntly refused, upon which Blanco drew back, took a carbine from one of his attendants, and shot him dead upon the spot. The narrator of the story apologized for Blanco, by saying that to deny a Spaniard fire, for lighting his segar or pipe, is the grossest insult that can be offered him.

We have ever understood that Blanco was one of the kindest masters to his slaves, taking every care of their health and comfort, never suffering any improper intimacy between his numerous agents and the females, and permitting no flogging or harsh treatment.

We first visited Gallinas in 1837, at a time when the trade at this place was on the decline, and Blanco was about leaving the coast. The first peculiarity we noticed in entering the river, was the arrangement of watch-boxes, or look-outs, consisting of seats protected from the sun and rain, erected some fifty or one hundred feet from the ground, either on poles fixed in the earth, or on some isolated, high tree; from one of which the horizon was constantly swept with a good telescope, to give prompt notice of the approach of any vessel, and long experience rendered these men very expert in determining the character of any visitor, whether neutral, friend, or foe.

About a mile from the river's mouth we found ourselves among a cluster of islands, on each of which was located the factory of some particular slave-merchant. The building, generally consisted of a business room, with warehouse attached, filled with merchandise and provisions, and a barracoon for the slaves; the whole built by setting rough stakes or small trees into the ground, these being wattled together with withes and covered with thatch. That containing the slaves being much the strongest, and generally surrounded by, or connected with, a yard, in which the slaves were permitted to exercise daily. We think there were some ten or twelve of these establishments at the time, each containing from 100 to 500 slaves. We believe one contained near 1,000, which, it was expected, would be shipped, daily. Each barracoon was in charge of from two to four white men, Spanish or Portuguese, and a more pitiable looking set of men we never met with. They had all suffered more or less from the fever, were very weak, much emaciated or swollen by dropsy or diseased spleens, and none of them particularly clean. The slaves were as well taken care of as could be expected, when provisions were plenty in the country; but, in case of scarcity they suffered severely. Many instances have occurred in which whole barracoons of slaves have been let loose for want of food; and it may well be supposed their owners would allow them to suffer severely before giving them up. For this reason and because they can be stowed more closely in a vessel, children are generally preferred to adults. We recollect going into one yard where there were some 300 boys, all apparently between ten and fifteen years of age, linked together in squads of twenty or thirty. We never saw a more painfully interesting sight than the long rows of these bright-eyed little fellows, doomed to the horrors of a middle latitude passage, probably in a three and a half feet between decks. Another peculiar feature of the place was, the collection of long canoes and boats, all kept ready for the despatch of slaves the moment an opportunity should occur. Probably 1,000 slaves could be shipped in four hours, all things favorable. In case the coast is clear of armed vessels, and a slaver appears in the offing, her signal is at once recognized. She is signalized in return to come in, and if she is watered and provisioned for the voyage, and deck laid, which is usually the case, she does not even come to anchor, but stands close into the bar, where she is met by the whole fleet of canoes and boats, the contents of which are speedily put on board; and then stands off or up the coast again, the canoes return to the barracoons for more slaves, again to meet outside the bar as before. Sometimes, however, they are not so fortunate, even when not molested by a man-of-war. The bar at the river's mouth is not unfrequently dangerous, even in the dry season, and in the anxiety to ship the slaves they run great hazards, and many a boat load of poor wretches becomes food for sharks, who always follow such boats and canoes in great numbers. We have heard from Kroomen, who perform the boat-work at Gallinas, many harrowing tales of shipping slaves from that place, too painful to report, or even to recall to memory. In fact, all connected with this trade is painful and distressing to humanity, and this Gallinas, of all other places on the coast of Africa with which we have been acquainted, has been the scene of its greatest horrors. What imagination can conceive the thousandth part of the misery that has been endured by human beings on this little cluster of bushy islands? Of the five or ten thousand who are annually brought to this place, each and every one has to mourn a home made desolate, a family dismembered, the blood of kindred flowing. Of this number, how many sink in these wretched barracoons from distress of mind at their wretched condition, from disease and famine; how many are sacrificed in their hurried shipment by the ravenous sharks; how many sink under the protracted agonies in that confinement between decks, the air of which is putridity itself; and, of the miserable survivors, the attenuated, excoriated wretches, who are still destined for the shambles, how few but would exclaim, "Thrice and four times happy are those who sink under the knife of the midnight assassin, or were consumed in the conflagration of their palm-covered cottages!"

But Gallinas is destroyed; as a slave mart it has ceased to exist; from its marshy islets the fiat shall no more go forth to spread fire and sword throughout a peaceful land; the marauding chief has bound his last victim; the haggard Luzarone slaver has rivited his last fetter; the shark at the bar mouth has fed on his last slave gang; and this land, heretofore detested and detestable, is henceforth to form a part of the free and independent Republic of Liberia.—In the fall of Gallinas, and the annexation of its territory to the Liberian Republic, we see the absolute extinction of the slave trade from Sierra Leone to the Cape Palmas. That the Liberian Government is competent to prevent its reëstablishment, now, in the day of her strength and independence, fostered by powerful nations, we have a sufficient guarantee by what she has done at Messurado, Bassa, and Trade Town, in time of her infancy and weakness.—*Maryland Colonization Journal.*

A LITTLE MATTER.

The Governor of Maryland calls attention, in a message exclusively devoted to the interests of Slavery, to a matter in which Pennsylvania is directly concerned. It is that of the imprisonment of Jonathan Little, in Huntingdon county, on the charge of kidnapping. It seems some "Virginian of high character" has called His Excellency's attention to the matter and represented Little as being a poor man, who is unable to procure counsel, and he therefore recommends that the State furnish his means of defence. We hope it will be determined. Nothing would sooner bring the non slaveholders of that Slavery ridden State to think of the evils of Slavery, and of some early plan for getting rid of it. Men are reached, sometimes, through their pockets, when they can be reached in no other way. Let them be called upon to sustain a few such contests for the benefit of other people's interests—such as they are injured rather than benefitted—and a change will be very apt to come over the spirit of their dreams.

As to the finale of such "test cases," it matters little whether the Maryland slaveholders succeed or fail. All the slave-catching laws which can be concocted, and all the decisions of courts that may be obtained in favor of Slavery, will go for naught, while the inherent impulse for freedom animates the heart of the enslaved, and the means of succor are within his reach. *Self emancipation will go on*, in defiance of the machinations of the slaveholders and their hired slave-hounds in the free States.—Look at the perils run and the privations undergone by such "chattles" as William Box Brown, and William and Ellen Craft. They tell a tale which ought to teach the oppressor the futility of those movements, which desparation is now madly concocting!

As an illustration of the force of our remarks, we may state that we have private advices from Delaware, which indicates a continued increase in the number of fugitive slaves from Maryland and elsewhere, who pass along that route. A correspondent of ours there, incidentally mentions a recent case which goes ahead of even the Crafts, for craftiness. It seems that a mulatto man whose complexion had been bleached by successive amalgamations, so as to closely approximate that of our own more favored race, has come successfully from as far South as Georgia, in this wise: He travelled in the public conveyances to Richmond, Virginia, and thence to Wilmington, Delaware, on foot. Getting out of funds, he *succeeded in so ingratiating himself with a noted slave-dealer, as to borrow several dollars of him, with a part of which he dined at the best Hotel at Havre de Grace, Maryland*, while waiting for the boat which conveys the cars across Susquehana river at that place, in which any white man may ride backwards and forwards, at pleasure! Of course, he is now safe in Queen Victoria's Dominions; for we understand that a branch of the underground rail road is connected with that place.

Our correspondent shrewdly and cuttingly remarks, that the slaveholders should be careful not to *whitewash* their "chattles" so much, seeing that it renders it so difficult to distinguish them from *men!*—*Pittsburg Dispatch.*

SLAVERY:

THE DEBATES IN CONGRESS.

We look with anxiety upon the debates now going on in Congress in relation to this subject. Anxious as we are that a spirit of meekness, forebearance, and kindness should characterize the speech and conduct of Northern Senators and Representatives, we are not at all disposed to uphold them in the least concession to the spirit of Slavery. Nay, we are very much afraid that a too compromising spirit possesses the Northern Representation, reflecting too faithfully, however, the actual sentiment at home. We could heartily wish that the South had more to fear from the North! The strength of the moral feeling of the free States in regard to the iniquity of Slavery is too much confined to a select class of sensitive and religious minds. It requires no ordinary degree of moral elevation to feel a genuine and patient indignation at Slavery, and a personal and active responsibility for its existence. We cannot expect the great mass of worldly minds that look at other subjects from a low point of view, to regard this from a lofty one.—Far too large a class of our business men are either secretely or openly of opinion that the slaves are as well off in the condition of bondage as they could be, in any other; and sympathize to no extent in the excitement, which, according them, a few fanatics have raised against the Institution. An intelligent merchant said to us only a few days since, that the progress of machinery must inevitably destroy Slavery sooner or later, and that, under this view, any direct meddling with it was wholly uncalled for. This seemed to satify his mind most comfortably, and he belongs, we apprehend to a very large class. The Northern States, especially in the commercial centres, are not yet sound upon this subject. The most sober or influential prints are to a considerable extent apologists for Slavery. The *Journal of Commerce*, a grave and conscientious paper, is considered sound in its pro-slavery doctrine, even at the South. The *New York Observer*, the most widely circulated religious weekly of our country, would be received in any slaveholder's family. We presume these papers, and they represent a large and important part of the Northern sentiment, would be amply satisfied with a compromise by which Slavery should be established in the Territories south of 36 40. We very much fear that this would content a large part of the North. For ourselves, we should regard such a settlement of the question as an awful mistake, not to say an unpardonable sin. We have no patience, therefore, with the indications in Congress, which point to this impotent conclusion. What are we to make of the silence of the Northern Senators, when Mr. Clay's generous declaration that he would never, never vote for the extension of Slavery over an inch of territory now free, encountered such vehement opposition from the South! There may be a deeper and better policy than we can fathom in the reserve of Northern Senators. They may be waiting for a lull in the storm, for the escape of the poisonous gas generated by the decomposition of the body of Slavery, before uttering themselves with the plainness and decision we have a right to expect. But we are not without our fears that the Northern indifference, or low moral tone in regard to this evil, finds its sad expression in the lukewarm, or passionless propriety displayed by our leading Northern statesmen—by the giants that represent Massachusetts, and in fact, by all except the avowed Free Soil Senators—in regard to the extension of Slavery.

There is ground for apprehension that we shall be worsted in the contest we are now engaged in with the propagators of Slavery, through the forgetfulness of one fact. The United South have reasons for maintaining Slavery which are intensely personal, direct, and within the sphere of the lowest apprehension. The vast amount of wealth which the rise of cotton has thrown into the hands of slaveholders during this past year, has whetted the appetite and stimulated the pro-slavery purposes of the South to an intense degree. The South is united, alert, directly interested on low, but strong and universally operative grounds, in pressing its Slavery-extension plans. The North has no direct pecuniary interest in the matter, and is impelled by no pressing necessity. It is a matter of conscience which, although quick with earnest sensibility here and there, is, for the most, only half-alive, or utterly dead. Moral motives are slow and easily deferred in comparison with motives that directly touch the interests of men. The South, therefore, is terribly in earnest in its resistance to the philanthropic projects of the North; the North only moderately resolute in its assaults upon the peculiar institution. It is from this consideration that we fear evil to ourselves in this controversy. If Webster, and Corwin, and Seward, were as earnest and resolute in their Free Soil purposes, as Calhoun, and Davis, and Berrien, appear to be in their pro-slavery convictions, we should fear little for the interests of Freedom. But is it so? It becomes every real friend of Liberty to spare not his words and prayers at this hour of decisive peril. Now is the time to enlighten the Northern conscience on the subject of the slave and his rights. The work of Emancipation; the work of applying the proviso, or something equivalent to it, is to be done at the North. The fortress of Slavery is here, in Northern heads and hearts; in the selfish indifference we feel towards a distant evil; in the vulgar prejudices still rife, in regard to the proper humanity of the negro; in the commercial conservatism that dreads an agitation, or any change that endangers its own regular business; and above all, to the general apathy to moral considerations and spiritual truths and principles. The country is not half as much alive to the glory of freedom, as it was twenty years after the revolution. A disposition to distrust the value of the privileges purchased by our father's blood, is not unfrequently to be traced in the covert sneer with which the defences of popular rights are received by the prosperous and the established. Let us not allow the stupor of national prosperity to overtake the North at a time when the great battle for human liberty is pending upon the Congressional floor. One great note of warning should summon the Northern conscience to its senses? We must concede nothing to the newly-inflamed thirst of slaveholders for the extension and added security of their accursed institution. If we yield anything now, the slave is lost for another half-century, and the country sinks to an unutterable degradation in the eyes of the civilized world, to a position inviting the direct chastisements of an outraged God of justice.—*Christian Inquirer.*

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
PHILADELPHIA FEMALE A. S. SOCIETY.

[From The Pennsylvania Freeman.]

The year 1849 has been a most eventful period. It is one which will long be remembered in the annals of modern times. Remembered, not as a constructive period, not as an era in which great thoughts and lofty aspirations embodied themselves in well digested and wisely arranged schemes of social organization and civil government; but as a year of desperate and deadly conflict between two mighty principles, which have ever been struggling for mastery on this earth—Despotism and Freedom. It will be remembered as a year when to the Spirit of Liberty was given a new birth and a new baptism; and though that birth was amidst death agonies, and that baptism in blood, she will still be hailed and crowned as heaven descended. Amid the fierceness of the conflict and the din of battle, the shouts of the seeming victors and the wail of the despairing vanquished, it is not easy to estimate, accurately, what has been lost or won on either side; but it is plainly discernible that a determined hostility to Despotism, a longing and a love for Freedom, have been awakened from their long slumber in the hearts of the nations of the Old World. Rude, uncouth, unschooled in christian philosophy, but, nevertheless, genuine and indomitable.

Thus are the relations of the year 1849 prophetic of the years to come. The period of agitation, of revolution, of destruction, must be followed by one of new creations, of harmony, of order: and the christian philosopher, who looks far below the turbulent surface of this great deep of human passion, watching its calm, unfailing springs, sees a spirit moving there, whose irresistible might shall guide, and ultimately allay, the tempest, bringing, in its stead, the calm of true peace. A long time may elapse ere this prophetic vision shall become real; the reign of anarchy, disorder and violence may be long; but not the less certain, because it is slow, is the triumph of Right over Might, of Truth over Falsehood, of Love over Selfishness; and with undoubting Faith may we expect to see this conflict, wildly begun with unchristian weapons, gloriously consummated,

"With those mild arms of Truth and Love,
Made mighty through the living God."

Though the scene of this struggle is on another continent, its influence extends over our own. The American nation is watching it with alternate hope and fear; now joining in the shout of the victor, now weeping with the vanquished champion of Freedom. Already, in her burning indignation at the Austrian tyrant, she is proposing to refuse him a ministerial representation of the model republic at his court. It cannot be that that stupendous system of despotism, American Slavery, can wholly escape the moral influence of such revolutions. They who are applauding successful resistance to tyrants on the soil of Europe, may, for a while, forget the "Greeks at their own door;" in the echo of their shouts, the wail of her own bondmen may not reach their ears; but in the calm hour which will succeed their exultation, the thought must come that their principles are as truly applicable at home as abroad; that if "resistance to tyrants is obedience to God," in one hemisphere it can be no great sin in the other; and that if the struggling, defeated Magyar deserves the deepest sympathy of every noble soul, the American slave, striving to cast off his more galling bonds, is worthy of a better fate than that which the laws of this freedom loving nation award him.

Thus, in the grand events of the past year, do we read predictions of good to the slave, and blessing to our country. The Old World, having learned lessons of Liberty from the New, is reciprocating the benefit, and teaching her teacher. We trust, we believe, that the lesson will not be given in vain.

Much during the past year, has, also been accomplished in our own land for the cause of Freedom. Sixteen years ago, when Abolitionists were asked, "What is your plan for abolishing Slavery?" they answered that their plan was to change the public sentiment on the subject; so that the system should be regarded in its true character, and instead of being advocated and excused, in church and state, it should be abhorred and shunned as the "sum of all villanies." They said that their plan was to arouse this nation's conscience, and interest its heart, in behalf of the abolition of Slavery. Now they may confidently appeal to the public to decide whether or not their plan was an enthusiast's dream, an impracticable theory. This whole nation is aroused to the consideration and discussion of this one topic; around it their hopes and fears revolve; there is no assembly too august or too insignificant for its admission, no individual who identifies himself with his country, to whom it is not a subject of painful anxiety. It is a topic of earnest conversation and discussion in the social circle and by the way side, in the school and lyceum, and the church; it agitates the legislatures of our free and our slaveholding States; it has taken entire possession of Congress, and every question, however trifling which has, or can be made to have, any connection with it, is there decided in reference to it. The results of sixteen years of Anti-Slavery labor are written all around us so legibly that even the purblind scoffer and the obstinate bigot cannot fail to read them.

This mighty change in public sentiment, this universal awakening of a great nation to a consciousness of danger, to some perception of responsibility and duty, in reference to this gigantic sin, has been effected simply with the dissemination of Anti-Slavery truth; by its utterance with the lips, through the pen, in public, in private, by the fireside, in the street, from the pulpit and the platform, at the bar, in the hall of legislation, at all times and all places, in season and out of season, here a little and there a little. And herein is proved, once more, the profound philosophy of the theory, that moral evil is to be resisted and destroyed by the preaching of the truth.

In reviewing the share of labor for the accomplishment of these great results, which this Society has performed during the past year, we find evidence that it has not existed in vain. That department of its operations which is most attractive and interesting to the public is its Annual Fair. As a pecuniary instrumentality, this is very important to the Anti-Slavery enterprise of Pennsylvania; and it is also valuable for its moral influences. Ever conducted with scrupulous regard to the dignity of the cause it is designated to promote, it has not been liable to many objections which are preferred against Bazaars generally, and even the fastidious could rarely find in it reason for complaint. It has, this year, been remarkably successful, as the Report of the Committee of Arrangements will show.

Another Fair,

turer, in the city and adjacent country. During the short time she was in our employ, she lectured in Kennett, Marlborough, Wilmington, Norristown, Germantown, Providence, Edgemont, Byberry, Newtown and Philadelphia. We have reason to believe that her labors were beneficial to our cause.

Our Society has, as usual, appropriated a portion of its funds to the extensive circulation of Anti-Slavery papers. It has circulated one hundred copies of *The Pennsylvania Freeman*, ten copies of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, ten of *The Liberator*, and five of the *Louisville Examiner*.

The school for colored girls, which has, during several years past, received aid from this Society, and which has been noticed in previous reports, is much diminished in size, and has been removed from the room which it formerly occupied. On account of the diminution in the number of scholars in attendance upon it, and the great demand for money to supply the general wants of the Anti-Slavery enterprise in Pennsylvania, this Society have, during the last year, deemed it expedient to withdraw from it their accustomed contributions. The school is still continued, is conducted with ability, and is of great value to the class of persons for whose benefit it was instituted, though we fear it is not justly appreciated by them.

The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society has not forgotten to bear its decided testimony against the purchase and use of the products of slave labor. In their instructions to their Fair Committee to avoid such purchases in their preparations for the Fair, in a resolution passed by them in May last, to devote one half the profits obtained from the English contributions to the Free Produce cause, they have expressed their conviction of the importance of this department of our enterprize.

Eighteen hundred and forty-nine will be remembered by the Abolitionists as the year which terminated the existence of the Liberty Party. Its rise, decline and fall stretches over a period of somewhat less than ten years, and its history is interesting and instructive. At its origin, it was based, ostensibly, at least, on purely Anti-Slavery principles, and one of its fundamental laws required that all its candidates for office should be true Abolitionists. So stringent was it, in this respect, that John Quincy Adams and Joshua R. Giddings were not deemed worthy of its votes. Some of the men who called the party into existence, and some who rallied around its standard, doubtless regarded it as a necessary and powerful instrumentality in the work of abolishing Slavery. They trusted in it as their "staff of accomplishment," and confidently believed that it would work wonders which moral power alone could never perform. At first, its votes were little else than recorded testimonies against Slavery, for they were too few even to annoy the other political parties. But the party grew in numerical strength, that *sine qua non* of political success, and the prospect of influencing the elections was too tempting to be foregone; they took lessons of their predecessors, and made "availability" an important consideration in the selection of their candidates. This was the first downward step of the party. Having verified, to their own satisfaction, the oft proved assertion, that the power of a political party is in proportion to its numbers, they made a still further concession of their fundamental principles, and descended, by one long step, from the Liberty to the Free Soil by one long step, from the and broader platform, a still party. further decline was reasonably anticipated, but the community was not prepared for the event of its entire absorption into the Democratic party, which they have witnessed during the past year. Thus has ended the effort to abolish Slavery by means of a political organization based upon the Constitution of the United States; thus has terminated a systematized and energetic attempt to unite allegiance to that Constitution, with practical opposition to some of its provisions. But the future historian of this party will have occasion to make honorable mention of many of its members, who, at different stages of its decline, shook off the dust of their feet against it, refusing to walk further with it on its downward course. Some of these, it is hoped, have returned to their first love and their early faith, which taught them to rely upon such measures as "the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption, and the deposition of error by the potency of truth."

This history is fraught with instructive lessons to us. It increases our confidence in the weapons with which we are waging this warfare; it confirms our faith in the efficacy of that "foolishness of preaching," at which the statesmen, the politician, and the worldling sneer. Its warning voice is ever in our ears, bidding us beware how we put our trust in an arm of flesh, and rely on the physical force as a remedy for moral evil. At this stage of our enterprise, we should be excusable if our faith, our zeal, or our courage were to decline. All around us are the evidences of the success of our labors, the triumph of our principles. Never, since the early period of christianity did so mighty a reform progress so rapidly. Faith in its inherent principles taught us that everything which opposed it was doomed to be vanquished in the conflict, but now our faith is partly turned to sight. We have *seen* how one can "chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight."

But, in our exultation over what has been accomplished [illegible] we do not forget that, to-day, while the refugees from Austria's tyranny are being welcomed to the hospitality and honors of this city, two noble men are lying in one of our national prisons, expiating the same crime as that which banished those illustrious Europeans from their country. The Hungarian refugees loved liberty, believed it to be every man's birthright, and acting in accordance with their belief, sought to obtain it for themselves and their countrymen, and Austria decreed them a felon's doom. Captains Drayton and Sayres also loved liberty, and believed that it is every man's birthright, and they too sought, though not by violence, to obtain it for those from whom it had been unjustly wrested; and the United States thrust them into her dungeons, and branded them before the world as criminals. Should they be so fortunate as to escape to Europe, doubtless Austria would welcome and honor our refugees as we do hers.

These things, and such as these, remind us that our country is not yet cleansed from the foul stain which disgraces her in the eyes of all Christendom. And other moniters have we that our work is not done.—Three millions of slaves yet wear their chains, and though we trust that the hour of their enfranchisement is not far off, the days, to them, long and wearisome, which must intervene, urge us to quickened zeal and more energetic action in their behalf. Our toils are light, our sacrifices trifling, in comparison with the burdens which they daily bear.

We enter upon the new year, confident that we are not laboring in vain, or spending our strength for nought, in full and joyful faith that the truth which we are associated to disseminate is LIVING, is MIGHTY; and in this faith we will continue to utter it,

Until IMMORTAL MIND,
Unshackled, walks abroad,
And chains no longer bind
The image of our God.
Until no captive one
Murmurs on land or wave;
And, in his course, the sun
Looks down upon no SLAVE!

Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society in account with Anna M. Hopper, Treasurer.

1849—DR.

To Donations to Pennsylvania A. S. Society,	$920 00
" " American do.	50 00
" " in aid of S. M. Douglass' school,	90 00
Subscription to *Pennsylvania Freeman*, 100 copies,	100 00
" *Liberator*, 10 copies,	20 00
" *National A. S. Standard*, 10 copies,	20 00
" *Louisville Examiner*, 5 copies,	10 00
Printing Annual Report,	14 70
Cash paid Lucy Stone for lecturing	42 72
Rent of rooms for meetings, advertising, &c.,	33 75
Balance on hand,	36 39
	$1337 54

1849—CR.

By balance in Treasury,	$26 09
Proceeds of Fair of 1848,	992 45
Sales of French Fancy Goods,	175 62
Dividend on Pennsylvania Hall Stock,	40 00
Subscriptions, Donations, &c.,	89 00
Collections at meetings for Lucy Stone	14 38
	$1337 45

JENNETTE JACKSON, } Auditors.
REBECCA PLUMBLY, }

OFFICERS FOR THE ENSUING YEAR.

President.—SARAH PUGH.
Vice President.—SARAH A MCKIM.
Recording Secretary.—MARGARET JONES.
Corresponding Secretary.—MARY GREW.
Treasurer.—ANNA M. HOPPER.
Managers.—Lucretia Mott, Margaret Griscom, Sarah Douglass, Amy Matilda Cassey, Hester Reckless, Huldah Justice.

THE following debate escaped our notice till we saw it placed, very properly, in the "Refuge of Oppression" in the last *Liberator*, and we now copy it as a matter of interest to our readers in this State.

LEGISLATURE OF NEW YORK.

ASSEMBLY—Jan 30.

The SPEAKER laid before the House a communication from Wm. H. Topp and Miss Mott, asking the use of the Assembly Chamber on Thursday evening, for the delivery of a lecture by C. C. Burleigh, on the subject of Slavery.

Mr. MONROE inquired who these persons were.

The SPEAKER stated that Mr. Topp was one of the most respectable colored men in the State—a merchant tailor of Albany. The other applicant was a lady of this city, who had taken an active interest in the Anti-Slavery cause.

Mr. MONROE hoped the subject would lie over. We had enough of this sort of thing on our table now for discussion.

The question was asked if the lady was a colored lady.

The SPEAKER replied that she was not.

Mr. MONROE said that he should debate the question to grant leave.

The SPEAKER decided that the motion did not lie over, on that account, having reference to the disposition of the application before the House.

Mr. MONROE inquired what the pending motion was.

The SPEAKER—On motion of the gentleman from Monroe, (Mr. L. Ward Smith,) to grant the use of the hall asked for.

Mr. MONROE then said that he should, at every point, at the risk of any political standing that he might have—nay, at the sacrifice of every drop of blood that flowed in his veins—neither of which he should regard as too dear, to meet this Slavery agitation, whenever and however it might come up. In the first place, this hall ought not to be occupied during the session, except by the committees of the House, who had no other place to meet in. We had no committee rooms—and the committees of the House were obliged to meet here, or in the ante-room, every evening, and up to a late hour. But this was comparatively the smallest consideration. We were now in the midst of a discussion of a subject vital to the existence of this Union—without, as he humbly conceived, being aware of what we were doing. No, sir, (said Mr. M.,) there are members on this floor, who will not permit themselves to believe—who will not allow themselves to entertain the idea, that a possibility can exist—much less a probability—of a dissolution of this Union. And, sir, I, for one, am sorry to say, though the danger of the present crisis has heretofore presented itself to my mind in a strong light, I have now come to feel that my confidence in the stability of this Union has become shaken. Sir, I beg gentlemen to take care they do not mistake the crisis of the time. I, sir, received this morning, among other letters on this subject, an urgent communication from a Democrat of this State, who formerly held a high place in Mr. Van Buren's administration, [understood to be the Hon. James K. Paulding,] in which I am assured that a revolution has taken place in the public mind, in consequence of the obvious tendency of this Slavery agitation—and in which the writer makes a strong appeal to the people of New York to cease this reckless exercise of an undoubted right, and for the sake of the Union, to stop this agitation. He assures me that he knows the fact, from his knowledge of the South, and of the direction things are now taking there—that there is not a doubt in his own mind, that our institutions are in the most imminent jeopardy.

Mr. FISKE suggested that it was out of order to speak of the Union.

Mr. MONROE—Out of order, sir, to speak in behalf of our glorious Union! I hope my friend from Kings will not call me to order for my zeal in behalf of this Union. I purpose, sir, to take up this subject at the proper time; but I call on gentlemen here to beware how they treat lightly this vital matter of the Union of these States. I appeal to them, as they regard the memory of a glorious ancestry, I conjure them, that they do not fall into the sleep of death on this subject. Sir, there is a gentleman from Orleans, (pointing to Mr. Burroughs,) standing near the pillar, who does not believe in the possibility of a dissolution of this Union. Sir, he is a perfect Rip Van Winkle on this point—[laughter]—and I am sorry to say that he has left a large progeny behind him in this State. [Renewed laughter.]

The SPEAKER reminded the gentleman that the question was on granting the use of the Hall, for the purpose mentioned.

Mr. MONROE was aware of that, and was coming directly to that point.

Mr. FISKE begged leave to ask the gentleman, how letting Miss Mott come in here would have the effect to dissolve the Union? [Laughter.]

Mr. MONROE—I am glad, Mr. Speaker, to see things taking a playful turn here, and I thank our friend from Kings for his contribution to a result which, without his aid, I perhaps, alone, could not have achieved. I, sir, was to run this thing into the ground, and break it off, sir. Yes, sir, break it off. Now, as to Miss Mott, sir, of whom I know nothing—since her name has been mentioned by my friend from Kings—I may be permitted to reply, that whether her coming in here with a colored man would dissolve the Union, has nothing to do with the point I am driving at; but that if it had—I say it without meaning any offence—it might lead to that union—with which I have nothing to do. [Roars of laughter, which the speaker could with difficulty repress.] Sir, let me tell gentlemen, in perfect seriousness and candor, that I have a deep and abiding conviction, derived from letters addressed to me from various quarters, and from my own knowledge of the effects of this Slavery agitation, that the course we are pursuing in that direction, we shall all of us find reason, when perhaps it shall be too late, to regret. I do not believe, sir, that there is any want of patriotism here; but I do believe that there is a want of proper appreciation and conviction of existing and impending danger. Sir, sir, [illegible] Miss Mott, and—what is the other man's name? (asked Mr. M. of the gentlemen about him, under a burst of laughter at the 'other man') Tom, is it? (he continued.) I hope, sir, we shall not have Miss Mott, and Tom, Dick and Harry coming on this floor, to kindle up anew the flame of abolitionism. This individual who writes to the Speaker, I understand is a colored man, Am I prepared to say that he will not, in this hall, with himself as Chairman and Miss Mott as Secretary, re-echo sentiments on this Slavery question akin to those of certain gentlemen here—but not, thank God, to me?

The SPEAKER here asked to be allowed to state the application. The Chair understood Mr. Burleigh to be a gentleman who had lectured extensively on Slavery, and on the subject of peace. [A voice—'On what?'] On the subject of peace. He was expected here to-morrow, and the church where he expected to lecture being engaged, the use of this hall was asked for, that Mr. Burleigh might lecture on Slavery. If it was the wish of the citizens of Albany to hear a lecture on peace also, they would probably be gratified.

Mr. MONROE—Sir, I am very glad to hear that he proposes to lecture on peace. Slavery I propose to lecture on myself. [Laughter.] Sir, I should be very glad to have the gentleman from Orleans (Mr. Burroughs) go in and hear that lecture on peace. [Laughter.] He told us the other day, on this floor, that if the question ever came to be one of Slavery or peace, he desired no peace. I hope, sir, he will go in and listen to the lecture on that subject.

Mr. BURROUGHS interposed. The gentleman did not correctly state his language.

Mr. MONROE—I shall not misrepresent the gentleman. I took down his words, but my notes are not here. The gentleman may rely upon it, that I shall give him an early opportunity to withdraw them.

Mr. BURROUGHS did not withdraw one word.

The SPEAKER called to order.

Mr. MONROE had no doubt he was out of order, for he was speaking on behalf of the Union.

The SPEAKER—The question is on granting the use of the hall.

Mr. MONROE—I understood the Speaker to say, that the lecture was to be on the subject of Slavery or peace; and I was stating that on the subject of Slavery, I propose to lecture myself.

Mr. L. W. Smith moved that the use of the hall be granted to the gentleman to deliver a lecture on Slavery. [Laughter.]

Mr. Monroe—The gentleman need not trouble himself; I am obliged to him, my constituents have made it entirely unnecessary. My constituents have given me a seat here. My constituents, who have an abiding attachment to the Constitution, and who are in favor of the Union, they sent me here. I have a right to speak, without any special permission I have only to say, that I have confined myself to the resolution as far as possible. I hope the use of this hall will not be granted, except for purposes connected with legislation, in which all of us take an interest. I am opposed to granting the use of this hall for all purposes, and especially for the purpose of allowing Miss Mott and my friend's friend to form a union here. [Laughter.]

Mr. L. W. Smith said that such applications were not unusual. A few days since, the use of the hall was granted to an agent of the Colonization Society; last year, to a colored lecturer on Slavery. This hall was the property of the people, and the spirit of our institutions favored the dissemination of light and truth. The gentleman was mistaken if he supposed he could change this practice. It seemed to be the drift of the gentleman from New York to alarm the House with a dread of the action of the South, and he seemed to have seized the occasion of this simple motion to grant the use of the hall to an individual of whom he knew nothing. He hoped leave would be granted. The precedent had been established, and it was too late to discriminate.

Mr. Monroe did not go into the matter of the respectability of the lecturer. It was not proper to do so; and he designedly avoided it. He did not desire to see this hall used for any private purpose of that sort, or any other. The gentleman said he knew nothing of the lecturer, and he desired to know much less than he already did about him. God forbid that he should. He had nothing to say about these persons. His objection was the principle. He knew the hall was granted last year to a colored lecturer; and he had heard gentlemen say who voted for it, that they were ashamed of it. He desired to enter his protest against it; he should vote against it if he stood alone. We have agitation enough on this floor, without inviting it here.

Mr. Bacon confessed that if this was an original question, he should vote against it. True, this was the people's house; but it was built for our accommodation, and set apart for our use, and it was not necessarily to be opened for all purposes. Still the precedent has been set, and we could not now stop.

Mr. Monroe moved as an amendment to the resolution, a substitute declaring it as the sense of this House, that the use of the hall should not be granted for any private purpose whatever.

Mr. L. W. Smith moved the previous question, which cut off the amendment; and

The question was put on the original resolution, and it was adopted—Ayes 80, noes 26.

The following Letter of Judge Jay upon the Compromise Resolutions of Mr. Clay, we find in the *Evening Post* of Saturday. We are sure it will prove highly interesting to our readers:

To the Hon. William J. Nelson, Member of the House of Representatives:

NEW YORK, 11th Feb., 1850.

MY DEAR SIR:—As one of your immediate constituents, permit me to express to you my views on the resolutions lately submitted to the Senate by Mr. Clay. They are skillfully drawn, and their true import seems to me to be generally misunderstood, and in many instances, intentionally misrepresented. Various considerations combine to render these resolutions acceptable to that class of our Northern politicians, who are anxious to be popular at home, without forfeiting their share of the patronage which is dispensed at Washington, by the slave power. The resolutions are eight in number, and I will examine them in their order.

1. This proposes the admission of California as a State, without the imposition by Congress of any restriction on the subject of Slavery, and "*with suitable boundaries.*" These words imply that the present boundaries are unsuitable, and must be altered. Let me now call your attention to the *true reason* for this reservation about boundaries, and respecting which the resolution is silent. During the war, and before the cession of any territory, the House of Representatives passed the Wilmot proviso, prohibiting Slavery in *all* the territory that might be acquired. On this, the South, with one voice, declared that they would not submit to the exclusion of Slavery *south* of 36 deg. 30 min. The legislature of Alabama resolved that they would not recognize "any enactment of the federal government which has for its object the prohibition of Slavery in any territory to be acquired by conquest or treaty SOUTH of the line of the Missouri compromise." At a public meeting in Charleston, and at which I believe Mr. Calhoun was present, it was resolved that it would be debasing and dishonorable to submit to the prohibition of Slavery "beyond what is already yielded by the Missouri compromise," and innumerable have been the offers and efforts of Southern politicians to extend the compromise line to the Pacific. Hence it is not the exclusion of Slavery in California to the north of that line, that offends the South, and to admit this Anti-Slavery State, bounded on the south by 36 deg. 30 min., is doing no more than what the South has consented should be done, and is in no sense a compromise. But the free State of California extends *south* of this line, and hence the southern boundary is *unsuitable*, and hence Mr. Clay's resolution makes a tacit provision for depriving the State of so much of her territory as his southern friends have resolved shall not be consecrated to freedom. Mr. Foote of Mississipi, observed in relation to this very resolution, "I see *no objection* to admiting all California *above* the line of 36 deg. 30 min. into the Union, provided another new slave State be laid off within the present limits of Texas." To this laying off another new slave State, Mr. Clay's compromise opposes no obstacle! Had Mr. Clay proposed the admission of California with "its present boundaries," his offer would so far have been a compromise, as to concede something to freedom as a consideration for the surrender of the Wilmot proviso.

SECOND RESOLUTION.

2. The next resolution declares that "*as Slavery does not exist by law, and is not likely to be introduced*" into any of the conquered territories, they should be organized under territorial governments, without any restriction on the subject of Slavery. The proposed assertion by Congress that Slavery does not exist *by law* in the territories, is hailed as an all-sufficient balm to the consciences of those who recoil with horror at the idea of being in any degree responsible for the extension of human bondage. And what, let me ask, is this declaration, but the enunciation of a bald truism? We all know there is no law, Mexican or American, recognizing Slavery in the territories. Mr. Clay adroitly avoids drawing any inference from this acknowledged fact, but expects that the good people of the North will draw for themselves the inference, that because Slavery does not exist by law, *therefore* it is prohibited by law. Property in elephants does not exist *by law* in New York, but still it exists, because it is *not* prohibited by law. Mr. Clay well knows that Mr. Calhoun and the great mass of the slaveholders contend that *in the absence of a prohibitory law*, men, women and children, as well as horses and sheep, may be held as property in any territory of the United States; and this doctrine Mr. Clay himself nowhere denies. Nay, further, Mr. Calhoun insists, and I believe truly, that Slavery *never has been established by law* in any country—that *after* property in man has been acquired, *then*, and not before, laws are passed to protect it. The slaveholders ask for no act of Congress authorizing them to carry their property into the territories. All they ask is that no *prohibitory law* shall be passed, and then they will carry their slaves where they please, and keep them by their own strong hand without law, till in their territorial legislatures they shall pass such laws on the subject as they shall find needful. Not a word in Mr. Clay's compromise contravenes this legal theory, or prevents its reduction to practice. Slavery did once exist by law in these territories; why does it not exist now? Mr. Clay answers the question by telling us that Mexican law abolished it. Now he perfectly well knows that the Mexican law not only abolished but *prohibited* Slavery. If that law was repealed by the conquest, then the old law was revived, and Slavery *does now exist by law*. If the law was not repealed by the conquest, then the law is still in force, and Slavery is *now prohibited by law*. Why, then, does not Mr. Clay fairly and honestly declare that Slavery is now prohibited by law! Because this would indeed be a compromise, and would render the proviso nugatory, and would secure the territories from the curse of Slavery. The very omission of such a declaration implies a denial of an existing prohibition, and in such denials he well knows the whole South concurs. So far, then, is Mr. Clay's inconsequential truism from being a compromise, that it surrenders to the South even more than she has demanded, and throws open to the slaveholders the whole territory north as well as south of the Missouri line.—But to reconcile the North to this total surrender, they are to be favored by Congress with an *opinion* that IT IS NOT LIKELY that Slavery will be introduced into any part of the conquered territory. What is only improbable, is at least *possible*, and hence this legislative *opinion* would, in fact, be a solemn and official declaration, that there is no *legal* prohibition to the introduction of Slavery. It is not pretended that this *opinion* which Congress is to volunteer, is to have any legal force whatever. But what, if time shall prove the opinion to have been erroneous, will it be any consolation to the North for having by their act blighted immense regions with human bondage, that they had been fooled by an opinion? Mr. Downs, of Louisiana, in reply to Mr. Clay, asserted that there were already in the territories "some four or five hundred slaves;" and another member declared that there would now have been plenty of slaves there had not their masters been apprehensive of the proviso. If Mr. Clay is correct in his opinion, the slaveholders have been strangely mistaken. It was openly avowed during the war, that the territory to be conquered south of 36 deg. 30 min., would be a slave region. Before our army entered the city of Mexico, we were offered all Texas proper, and the whole of New Mexico and California *north* of thirty-seven degrees; an extent of territory equal to nine States of the size of New York. The offer was rejected, and thousands were slaughtered to obtain territory *south* of 36 deg. 30 min., to be peopled with slaves.—From the first mention of the proviso, our Northern editors and politicians in the slave interest opposed it as unnecessary, because, as they assured us, the soil and climate of these territories were unsuitable to slave labor. The slaveholders knew better, and never endorsed the falsehood of their allies. Mr. Waddy Thompson, of South Carolina, Minister to Mexico, announced to his brethren, writing of California, "sugar, rice and cotton find there their own congenial clime."—*Recollections of Mexico*, p. 234.

Did the South make war upon Mexico only to acquire free territory? Is she now threatening disunion and civil war for a privilege she "is not likely" to exercise?

Upon what does Mr. Clay rest his strange, unnatural opinion? Almost exclusively on the exclusion of Slavery from the California constitution. He does not pretend that this exclusion was owing to the unfitness of the soil and climate for slave labor. We all know that the unexpected discovery of gold suddenly collected California a large *Northern population*, naturally averse to Slavery, and jealous of the competition of slave labor in digging gold. But does gold exist in Deseret or New Mexico? or is there a large Northern population in California, south of 36 deg. 30 min.? Is it logical to infer that Slavery is not likely to be introduced into these territories, even with the sanction of Congress, because under totally different circumstances it has been excluded from California? New Mexico is separated by an imaginary line from Texas, and about half of it is claimed by that slave State. Is it likely that Texas slaveholders will not cross the line with their property, or occupy territory they claim as their own.

The settlers in Deseset have formed a constitution, virtually allowing Slavery, by not prohibiting it. The gold-diggers in California are concentrated far north of 36 deg. 30 min.; the city of San Francisco is also north of that line, while south of it is a large area, where there is little to obstruct the introduction of Slavery.—Under these circumstances, there are probably very few men in Congress who would dare, on their oaths, to affirm the *opinion* expressed by Mr. Clay. That opinion is at best a calculation of *chances*; a calculation on which no man would hazard a thousand dollars; yet this miserable calculation is offered to the North as a compensation for the surrender of all the political and moral blessings which the proviso would SECURE.

Mr. Clay utterly demolishes General Cass's argument against the constitutionality of the proviso, and affirms most positively the right of Congress to prohibit Slavery in the territories. But how stands the question of duty and moral consistency between these two gentlemen? Undeniably in favor of the General. He has not, indeed, undertaken to solve the nice and difficult question whether human bondage is a curse or a blessing. He is sensibly alive to the atrocity of flogging two or three Hungarian women, but makes no comment on laws which subject thousands and tens of thousands of American women to the lash. He calls upon the nation to express its indignation, at the execution of a few Hungarian insurgents taken with arms in their hands, but gives no opinion how far it would be right or wrong to shoot certain of his own countrymen, if taken in revolt against worse than Austrian oppression. But he contends that whatever may be the moral character of Slavery, Congress has no constitutional right to prohibit it, and *therefore* ought not to prohibit it. On the other hand Mr. Clay frankly declares that Slavery is wrong, "a grievous wrong," that to propagate Slavery is to propagate WRONG. He affirms the constitutional power of Congress to prohibit this propagation of wrong, and then calls upon Congress to permit slaveholders to propagate this wrong when and where they please over the whole wide extent of our conquered territory, with the single exception of what may be included within the State of California. Before God and man, General Cass's conclusion from his *premises* is justified, while the conclusion drawn by Mr. Clay from his premises is condemned as hostile to morality and humanity.

THIRD, FOURTH, FIFTH, AND SIXTH RESOLUTIONS.

3. This resolution merely gives to Texas more territory than she is entitled to, and less than she demands, and is so far a compromise of territorial claims; but in no degree a compromise between the friends and enemies of human rights, since what is to be taken from Texas is to be immediately thrown open to the slaveholders.

4. Texas had, before annexation, pledged her duties on foreign commerce as security to certain creditors.—These duties, by annexation, were surrendered to the United States. Mr. Clay proposes that the United States shall assume the debts due to these creditors if Texas will relinquish her claims on New Mexico. If justice requires the nation to resume these debts, their assumption ought not to depend on the cession of territory by Texas. If in justice we do not owe these debts, their payment by us will in fact be a gratuity to Texas for the relinquishment of one of the most impudent and fradulent claims ever made. We have official information, communicated by General Jackson to Congress, that the Texans when defining the boundaries of their new born republic, at first determined to include *California*, and beyond all question they had then as much right to San Francisco as they have now to Santa Fé. The proposition of Mr. Clay is therefore to pay Texas for territory to which he admits she has no title, and then throw open the territory so purchased to the slaveholders. In this, I can see no concession to the North.

5. Congress is to declare it inexpedient to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia, except with the assent of Maryland and the people of the District, and making compensation to the slaveholders. The unlimited power of Congress to abolish Slavery in the District is fully conceded, yet he calls on Congress not to do, what many of its members and vast multitudes of their constituents believe it their moral duty to do. In this proposal I can find no other compromise but that of conscience.

6. The next proposal is to prohibit their importation of slaves into the District *for sale*. In other words, the inhabitants are to have a monopoly of the trade in human beings. These good people are not to be deprived of the privilege of importing as many slaves as they may want for their own use, nor of selling husbands and wives, and children, to be transported to extremities of the Union; but foreign traders shall no longer be permitted to glut the Washington market with their wares. The moment the resolution passes, human chattles will rise in value in the capital of our republic. I object not to the abolition of the trade, since it will remove one of the many abominations with which Slavery has disgraced the seat of our national government; but I deny that the proposition involves the slightest concession on the part of the slaveholders. Says Mr. Clay himself, "almost every slaveholding State in the Union has exercised its power to prohibit the introduction of slaves as merchandise." The power is exercised or not, according to convenience, and, as it is thought most profitable to breed or to import slaves.

SEVENTH RESOLUTION.

7. We now come to a grand specific for giving ease to northern conscience, for allaying all irritation, and for restoring a general healthful action throughout the present morbid system of the confederacy! I will give the receipt in full: "Resolved, that *more effectual provision* ought to be made by law for the restitution and delivery of persons bound to service or labor in any State, who may escape into any other State or territory of this Union." That I may not be accused of injustice to Mr. Clay in any subsequent remarks, I will quote from his speech on this point: "I do not say, sir, that a *private individual* is obliged to make the tour of his whole State, in order to assist the owner of a slave to recover his property; but I do say, *if he is present* when the owner of a slave is about to assert his rights and regain possession of his property, *that he and every one present*, whether officer, or agent of the State government, or private individual, is *bound* to assist in the execution of the laws of their country." "I will go with the farthest Senator from the South in this body to make *penal* laws to impose the *heaviest sanctions* upon the recovery of fugitive slaves, and the restoration of them to their owners."

Such is the panacea, and such is the manner in which our medical adviser proposes to administer it. He must not be surprised should some difficulty be experienced in compelling the patient to swallow the draught.

Mr. Clay has long been a laborer of those field sports in which the prey is MAN, and he has the merit, it is believed, of being the first to conceive the grand idea of securing a national intercommunity in those sports, by means of international treaties. So early as the 19th June, 1826, as Secretary of State, he proposed to the British government to throw the Canadas open for this sport, and in return, to British sportsmen should be accorded the privilege of hunting West India Negroes, throughout the whole extent of the American Republic. But John Bull rejected the tendered reciprocity, and churlishly replied, "The law of Parliament gave freedom to every slave who effected his landing on British ground."

About the same time, we requested from Mexico the boon of hunting negroes over her wide area. The desired favor was denied, but we have since forcibly added almost half her territory to our own hunting grounds. Of all the game laws in existence, that of 1793, which regulates the chase of negroes, is the most horrible; yet Mr. Clay is dissatisfied with it, and calls upon Congress to make it "more effectual," and of course more horrible. Should a Virginian come to New York in search of his horse, and find him in the possession of another, who claims him as his property, how is he to recover the *animal*? Only by process of law, and that process requires a jury of twelve impartial men, drawn by lot, shall pass upon the conflicting claims. Neither party has any choice in selecting the jury, nor can either establish his claim by his own evidence. But if the Virginian is hunting a MAN, and sees one that will serve his purpose, and who will fetch a thousand dollars in the southern market, but who claims to belong to himself, how is he to secure him? Why he may catch his MAN as well as he can, and without warrant may carry him before any justice of the peace whom for sufficient reasons he may think proper to select, and swear that the MAN he has caught is his, and the justice may surrender the MAN to perpetual bondage, degradation and misery. Various officers besides justices are authorized to act, so that the Virginian has a wide choice. Surely this is hunting made easy by law, but it is not found so easy in practice. Latterly, various States have prohibited their *own officers* from assisting in the chase of human beings, and citizens rarely lend any *unpaid* assistance. Hence a new game law is deemed needful, and Mr. Clay, as we have seen, is pledged to go with "the farthest southern senator," the most devoted lover of the sport, to make it effectual. The judiciary committee have accordingly reported a bill, now before the Senate. "I agree," said Mr. Mason, one of the farthest southern Senators, in his speech on this bill, (28th Jan.,) "I agree that the federal government *has no power to impose duties of any kind upon the officers of state governments as such.*" Of course, the obligation imposed by the law of 1793, upon justices of the peace and other State officers to catch slaves, are void, and our northern legislatures, it is admitted have a right to prohibit them from participating in slave hunts. To obviate this difficulty, it becomes necessary to select other than *state* officers to adjudicate upon questions of higher import than any, with the single exception of life and death, that ever exercise the talents, learning, virtue and independence of the most august tribunals of any civilized country. And who are the grave and reverend judges appointed by this bill to sit in judgment on the liberty or bondage of native born Americans? Among these judges are TWENTY THOUSAND POSTMASTERS! Each one of these new judges is authorized to adjudge any man, woman or child, black or white, to be a vendible chattel; and this judgment is to be founded on any proof that may be satisfactory to said postmaster in the words of the bill, "either by oral testimony or by affidavit," of the interested claimant excluded; and from this judgment there is no appeal! Slavery is no longer confined to *one* color. The southern papers abound with advertisements offering rewards for fugitive slaves, containing the caution, that the fugitive will probably attempt to pass for a *white* person. A few years since a Maryland slaveholder caught in Philadelphia a white girl, (Mary Gilmore) whom he claimed as his *slave*. The case was brought before a Pennsylvania judge, and occupied two days, and it was proved by most abundant overwhelming evidence, that the alleged slave was the orphan daughter of POOR IRISH PARENTS. The mother had died in the Philadelphia hospital, and the daughter had never been in Maryland. By a pending amendment to this bill, every man and woman who, prompted by the holiest impulses of our nature, shall "harbor or conceal" the prey from the hunter, is to be visited with fine and imprisonment. A few days after Mr. Clay introduced his resolutions, Bruin and Hill, slave traders in Alexandria, wrote a letter, since published in the newspapers, stating for the information of a free MOTHER in New York who wished to redeem her DAUGHTER from bondage, that they cannot afford to sell "the girl Emily for less than EIGHTEEN HUNDRED DOLLARS." Why this prodigious price? They add, "we have two or three offers for Emily from *gentlemen* from the south. She is said to be the finest looking woman in this country."

Should this devoted victim escape from her keepers, and be afterwards found concealed in her mother's house, not only is she to be carried back and subjected to the fate intended for her, but the MOTHER is liable by the then present bill to be sentenced to pay a fine of five hundred dollars to the United States, to pay Messrs. Bruin & Hill one thousand dollars for damages, and be imprisoned six months. We hope for Mr. Clay's reputation, no "farthest Senator from the South" will ask for heavier penalties, for if he does, Mr. Clay is pledged to vote for "the heaviest sanctions" that may be proposed. But suppose this poor girl should find her way to Peekskill, instead of New York, and in your absence, with bursting heart, ask to be sheltered in your house from her pursuers. Can you for a single moment admit the possibility, that your wife, the mother of your children, could, through fear of the law, so unsex herself, as to turn the trembling fugitive into the street, or betray her to the hunters? A thousand times rather would you see the partner of your bosom enduring Mr Clay's "heaviest sanctions," than bringing ignominy upon herself, and covering her husband and children with shame and confusion of face, by committing a crime so foul and damnable. Mr. Mason, in his speech, insists upon the right of the hunter, "to enter peaceably any enclosure or DWELLING where such slave may be found, for the purpose of taking him." Should this asserted right be incorporated into the *compromise* bill, then may Southern ruffians and Northern dough-faces ere long be roaming through our bed rooms and ransacking our closets in search of prey.—Should an attempt be made to *enforce* "the heaviest sanctions" from which Mr. Clay is ready to vote, he may be assured the prisons in New York and New England are too few to hold the vast multitude of men and women who would willingly tenant them, rather than peril their souls by betraying the fugitive or assisting in his capture. Mr. Clay very kindly declines requiring "a private individual *to make the tour of his whole State*" in search of a slave, but he insists that *all who are present* when the game is started, ought to follow the hounds. Could he but enforce this obligation, we should have some grand turn-outs in New York and New England, some like the one fancied by the poet:

'Good luck to our hunters! how nobly they ride,
In the glow of their zeal, and the strength of their pride!
The priest with his cassock flung back on the wind,
Just screening the politic statesman behind—
The saint and the sinner, with cursing and prayer—
The drunk and the sober ride merrily there.
On! goodly and grand is our hunting to see.
In this 'land of the brave and this home of the free!'
Right merrily hunting the black man, whose sin
Is the curl of his hair and the hue of his skin.
So speed to their hunting o'er mountain and glen,
Through cane-break and forest—the hunter of men!"

But the constitution! This instrument declares, in substance, that the fugitive slave shall be delivered up; but Mr. Clay, I believe, is the first lawyer who has contended that the obligation of delivery rests upon "private individuals." Even Mr. Mason, in his speech, insists that the mandate to deliver up is "addressed to the *jurisdiction of the State* into which the fugitive may escape." Of course, individual citizens, as such, are under no constitutional obligation to volunteer to catch slaves. But suppose a positive law should enjoin each individual to betray or aid in capturing the fugitive the question put by the Apostles, when legally forbidden to teach in the name of Jesus, would then recur: "Whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you, more than unto God, judge ye." It is not merely the right but the duty of a Christian to refuse an *active* obedience to any and every law of man, which he believes contravenes the commands of his Maker; and then, like the Apostles, to offer no forcible resistance to the penalties attached to his disobedience.

Mr Clay may rest assured, that the bills of pains and penalties promised in his 7th resolution, will not have the composing influence he anticipates. Filling our prisons with pious, benevolent, kind-hearted men and women, will have little effect in suppressing agitation. In his compromising anodyne, Mr. Clay has omitted an important ingredient. Ample provision is to be made for the recovery of southern slaves, but none for the recovery of NORTHERN CITIZENS. If the constitution gives the southern planter a right to seize his slave in New York or Massachusetts, equally explicit is the grant to citizens of those States to enjoy all the rights of citizenship in South Carolina. Yet, if certain of our citizens, freeholders and electors at home, think proper to visit that state, a prison is the only dwelling they are permitted to occupy; and should the state to which they belong send an agent to inquire why they are immured in a jail, and to bring their case before the Supreme Court of the United States, he is compelled to flee at the hazard of his life!

8. The last item of this grand compromise is virtually a guaranty that the American slave trade, vile and loathsome as it is, shall be held sacred from prohibition or obstruction by the federal government for all time to come. The stars and stripes shall forever protect each coasting vessel that shall be freighted with human misery and despair, and manacled coffles shall, without molestation, be driven across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The slave trade in the District, that is, in one single market, Mr. Clay pronounces "detestable," and talks with horror of "the *cortege* which pass along our avenues of manacled human beings." But why this sudden outburst of indignation against a lawful commerce? Is it dishonorable to sell merchandize? Has not Mr. Clay himself proclaimed "that is property which the law makes property?" Why does he dishonor the Washington man-merchants? Is it base to buy and sell human beings?

of the territory acquired from Mexico. But this is not the only, or the chief importance of the Proviso. Without it, any of the new States, though they might enter the Union with Anti-Slavery Constitutions, could amend them so as to establish Slavery at any moment.—Whereas, as long as the Proviso remained in force, the holding of a slave would be illegal, and the matter would be decided as formerly in Massachusetts by a suit before the proper tribunals.

Moreover, when any affair, public or private, is to be settled, wisdom and justice are always found to be coincident at last. Righteousness and expediency turn out in the end to be identical. How lasting was the truce patched up by the Missouri Compromise? The admission of Texas with a pro-slavery Constitution, did that tend to allay the Anti-Slavery agitation? It is surely time that our legislators should learn to look forward beyond the limit of a session or a presidential term. It is no wonder that an apt compromise cannot be found, since between right and wrong there is no possibility of compromise. Justice exacts her dues more slowly of nations than of individuals, but she always contrives to get payment of the uttermost farthing from both.—J. R. L.

Colored People in Canada.

We are indebted to the *London Inquirer* for the following article and interesting correspondence, copied from the *Montreal Pilot*. Having no Canada exchanges, we are indebted to the American Press for our news from that Province, and that contained in Mr. Cameron's letter is not of such a character as American editors are desirous of laying before their Republican readers. It gives rise to reflections which would not be considered as conducive to a sound political morality in the *United* States:

CORRESPONDENCE.

Between the Hon. Malcolm Cameron and the Colored Stockholders of the Elgin Association.

We publish the following correspodence with great pleasure, having already, on more than one occasion, advocated the rights of our colored fellow-citizens in this province, and expressed our surprise and indignation at the attempt made to take them away. The opponents of free settlement may be reminded that we are not yet annexed, and that it is far too soon to anticipate, by an anti-British policy, an event, the possible occurrence of which is contemplated by the lovers of genuine freedom and independence with strong feelings of aversion. The prejudice against color is a moral weakness, to say the least, of which an Englishman should be ashamed. It ought to have no place among us.

To the Hon Malcolm Cameron:—*Sir*,—We, the undersigned Committee have been appointed by a number of colored stockholders of the Elgin Association, to ask your views on a subject that chiefly concerns our civil rights. Your long residence in the Western part of the Province, where most of our people are settled, makes you well acquainted with our condition, and the many disadvantages under which we labor, in consequence of an unjust prejudice, which deprives our children, in a great measure, of the use of the common schools, and excludes us from participating in the rights and privileges guaranteed to us by law. This prejudice has lately assumed a hostile form, in an Address published at Chatham in August last, the object of which is to prevent us from settling where we please, and, if carried into effect, would eventually drive us from the Province. As you represent the county where the Elgin Association have purchased land for colored settlers, they wish to know if you are in favor of our settling there, or any other place that we may select in the Province, and if you will aid us in obtaining all the rights and privileges we are entitled to by law. An answer at your earliest convenience will oblige the Committee.

ADOLPHUS JUDAH,
W. R. ABBOTT,
DAVID HOLLIN, } *Com*

Mr. Cameron's Reply.

Gentlemen,—In reply to your letter of this day I beg leave to say, that the evil you complain of, relative to your position in common schools, was fully provided for in the New School Bill, which I had the honor to conduct through Parliament last seession, and which comes into operation in January next.

I regretted very much the tone and sentiments of the resolutions and address to which you allude as having been passed at Chatham in August last, and I feel quite sure that they are not the sentiments of the great mass of the County of Kent. For my own part, I have ever advocated the perfect equality of all mankind, and the right of all to every civil and religious privilege without regard to creed or color And under the Constitution we now enjoy, all men are really "free and equal," and none can deny to the African anything granted to the Scotchman, the Irishman, or the Saxon; they have the right to purchase where they please, and settle in groups or singly as they like; and wherever they are, they will find me ready to defend and maintain the principles of civil and religious freedom to all, as the principle I hold most dear to myself and most sacred to my country. I have the honor to be, your obedient Servant, MALCOLM CAMERON.

To Wilson R. Abbott, David Hollin, Adolphus Judah, Committee,

A Correspondent of *The Tribune* thus warns all who are disposed to assist the true fugitive from the impositions of a pretended one:

Impostor.—A colored man calling his name William Johnson, is on a tour of speculation among the friends of the colored race in the Northern and Eastern States, stating that he had escaped from Slavery three or four years since and was now in search of his wife residing somewhere at the North. His address is good and statements very plausible, and by means of them he has obtained a few letters of introduction to gentleman prominent for their benevolence, who have aided him with money and clothing. He pursues his journey from place to place, repeating the same statements, exhibiting his letters and mentioning freely the names of different persons who were induced to give because of others having done so. It has been lately ascertained that he has deserted his wife and left her entirely unprovided for, with whom he only became acquainted in July last, and it is believed that he is now pursuing the same means to obtain a living by exciting the sympathies of charitable persons, of which he is entirely unworthy.

New York Democracy.—The Democratic General Committee of this city at a late meeting at Tammany Hall adopted the following Resolutions. We wonder if the Free Soilers will offer these as the good fruit which was to come of the grafting of their party upon the old stock of Hunkerism:

Resolved, That the individuals in this Committee who voted against Cass and Butler, at the last Presedential election, viz: Rynders, Purser, Downing, Kelly and Miller, be expelled from this Committee, inasmuch as at the last meeting a resolution was passed by the Committee, declaring ineligible as members thereof any persons who voted against Cass and Butler.

Resolved, That we deem the Union of the American States the primary political object of all true Democrats

Resolved, That we continue to regard Martin Van Buren as a traitor and an ingrate, and to detest those who supported the infamous coalition formed at Buffalo by Whigs, negroes, and the so-called leaders of the Van Buren faction.

Resolved, That we are opposed to the Wilmot Proviso, as the expression of a political heresy, in violation of the Constitution, and dangerous to the perpetuity of our Union.

Resolved, That a meeting of the Democratic Republican party be called at Tammany Hall, at an early day, to express the voice of the Democracy of the great City of New York, in favor of the preservation of our glorious Union.

The Society of Friends and the Union.—A few days since a petition in favor of the dissolution of the Union was submitted to the United States Senate by Mr Hale, who said that it emanated from members of the Society of Friends and others of Delaware county, Pennsylvania.—Mr Sturgeon pronounced the document a forgery, and we are not surprised that it was so designated under the circumstances. Philadelphia contains more members of the Society of Friends than any other city of the Republic, and while to a man they are opposed to Slavery, and would rejoice from the very depths of their hearts at the adoption of any plan in harmony with the Constitution, calculated to remove a moral evil so deplorable, there are not, within the limits of our common country, a body of purer patriots or more thorough advocates of the Union and its many blessings. So far as our own acquaintance extends, we do not know a Friend in Philadelphia who is a disunionist. And this, too, is the testimony of a neighbor, who is over seventy years of age, who is, and ever has been, a member of the Society, and whose acquaintance is intimate and extensive among the Friends of Philadelphia. This we consider due, in mere justice.—*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 12th.

We could tell *The Inquirer* of a good many Friends who are Disunionists, but its defence of the Quakers as a class, we are very sorry to believe is quite to the purpose. Voters for Taylor, as most of them were, could hardly be any thing else but friends of a Union with slaveholders.

Mrs. Farnham in California.—The *Evening Post* has been favored with the following extract from a private letter received here by one of Mrs. Farnham's friends, announcing her safe arrival at San Francisco, she found friends and a passage upon the coast, arriving at S. F. only two weeks after the vessel which had deserted her, and found her children safe and well. She writes by the last mail:

San Francisco, Dec. 25, 1849.

I have been but two days here, but as the mail goes day after to-morrow, I am constrained to write you in the midst of a confusion that quite defies the attempt to say more than that I am here; that I came from Valparaiso on the Louis Phillippe, found the Angelique here a fortnight before me and all things right * * * Women are imprisoned here at this season by the horrible condition of the streets. We have to wear men's boots and shorten our skirts as much as possible. I have been in the street but twice, and each time in that costume. * * * Women are more in requisition here than gold or anything else. Those who came out with me had immediately offers of employment at $75 and $100, per month. If there had been five hundred instead of five, they could all have engaged immediately on similar terms. They must be got here in considerable numbers before society can take any shape or assume any character. I hope that while our good brethren at home are bestirring themselves kindly to send out churches and clergymen, they will not forget that the best of all missionaries to such a population are resolute, virtuous, intelligent women.

One of the chief difficulties that was felt by the women who consulted me, was the fear that they should not be protected against rudeness, or perhaps something worse. I reasoned then that it would not be so, but it was difficult to convince by argument. Therefore, let the *fact* be known to all who care to know it, that the utmost possible deference and care are shown to females; and that any woman, to experience rudeness or insult here, must expose herself much more imprudently than she would to incur the same risk in your cities. No woman need fear to come here who has the sense and energy to take care of herself elsewhere; and she will have, in her capacity for any occupation suited to her sex a better capital than the gold of the mines. If there had 1,000 females sailed last May, they would, all who chose to, be profitably employed this day. Everything is scarcer here than gold.

Domestic Correspondence.

From our Boston Correspondent,

NO. LVI.

The Argument.—*The Free Soil Convention.—Sleep and waking.—What they are to do about it.—Adventures of Disunion Petitions.—Uses of Congress discovered.—The Petition in the General Court.—Right of Petition and Mr. Boutwell.—Instantaneous Conversion.—Colonels and Generals.—Leave to withdraw.—What we did about it.—The correspondent on his own virtues.—He despargeth the General Court, and thinketh the former days were better than these.—&c., &c., &c.*

Boston, Feb 18th, 1850.

You will be glad to hear that the Free Soilers have aroused themselves sufficiently to try for a Convention, here, next week, to see if they can attract any attention to the present state of the country and of the multitudinous rascalities which are now going forward. Anything that looks like life is an encouraging symptom, and Wendell Phillips and all the rest of us will be glad to be contradicted in our assertion that the Free Soil party is dead. It it be not dead, but sleeping only, we hope that this may prove more than the convulsive twitches of a galvanic excitement, and be indeed the first stages of passing from a state of *coma* to a natural condition of wakefulness Only when they have got their eyes open, and are looking full at the state of the country we should like to know, as Judge Woodbury very sensibly asked the Newport Grand Jury when it presented the Domestic Slave Trade as a nuisance, "what they propose doing about it?" If they can find anything more practical or commonsensical than to dissolve the partnership which has proved such a disastrous speculation to us all, and to form a new one with fresh articles, we should like to have them fetch it on. It will be an interesting meeting, undoubtedly, and you need not doubt that your Correspondent will be *thar*, and that his next Epistle General will contain the most authentic account of all the notabilities of the occasion.

The adventures of our Disunion Petitions are the most entertaining ones that have come in my way, since I wrote last You know that that obstinate but much abused class of entreaties have always had to encounter much ill usage and many hardships in their journey through life. The Abolitionists have certainly obeyed the Apostolic injunction, and have "prayed without ceasing," ever since they had a being. If they have not been heard, it certainly has not been because of their neglect of "much speaking." But they have been heard and have answered a very good purpose, although they have not been granted. The great Capitol at Washington, and the brood of little ones all over the Free States, have answered the purpose of a great Whispering Gallery,—of Dionysius's Ear which has conveyed what is said, or left unsaid, there to listeners ever so far off. The Congress of the United States is at last applied to a good and profitable use It has been doubted whether this was not an exception to the general rule, that nothing is ever made wholly in vain. It did seem for a time as if it might puzzle a Metaphysician, or a Philadelphia lawyer, (whichever may be the hardest to perplex) to discover what earthly good it ever did. But now that the Abolitionists have turned it into a great Anti-Slavery Debating Society, with the whole Nation to the Gallery, no sensible man thinks of grudging the members their Eight dollars a day, but, on the contrary, that they would be cheap at twice the money.

But, as the French say "*revenons à nos moutons*," let us return to our muttons. Last week, the first petition for the peaceful secession from the Union was presented from Abington, by Mr. Corthell of that town with a motion to refer it to the Judiciary Committee. The House refused by a very large vote so to refer it. Then somebody moved that it be laid on the table, which was done by a very large majority, six or seven to one, as an impartial spectator judged. Here was an instructive proof of the advance this primary school of politics had made in the system of instruction pursued in the Higher Seminary at Washington. It never was more compendiously and prettily managed in the Senate itself. And the Anti-Slavery Taylor Whigs were chuckling over the amount they had thus easily added to their political capital. But their rejoicing was of short duration. For, presently, Mr. Boutwell, of Groton, the Democratic candidate for Governor last year, and now the Democratic leader in the House, arose and set the sins of the Whigs in order before them, and to demonstrate what a backsliding this was from the stand Massachusetts had always taken on the Question of the Right Petition. The Administration members were aroused from their dreams, and perceived that they had digged a pit and fallen into it in the most headlong manner, and that there was nothing left for them but to scramble out in the quickest and best way they could.

They could not even wait until Mr. Boutwell was done, but Mr. Lincoln, of Boston, interrupted him to move a reconsideration of the vote laying on the table. The Speaker ruled that this motion must go into the Order of the Day and lie over until the next day. Whereupon Mr. Schouler (called of men Colonel for some juvenile indiscretion) the redoubtable Editor of the *Atlas*, moved the suspension of the rules, so that the question might be taken at once. The petition was then read, and it was taken from the table by quite as large a majority as had put it there, and referred to the Judiciary Committee. It might be thought from the haste with which the House took up this morsel from the table where they had just before laid it, that they meant to give it a due discussion and proper digestion. But the Judiciary Committee were evidently unwilling to keep hold of it longer than they could, fearing, if they held it long it might burn their fingers, and so they dropped it, like a too hot potatoe, at the earliest possible moment. The next morning, they reported leave to withdraw, without giving the Petitioners the chance of a hearing, which has been denied by no former Committee.—This report would have gone into the Orders of the Day, too, had not Mr. Wilson (called of men, like Mr. Schouler, for some sin, "his father's or his own," by the more opprobious epithet of "General") of Natick, editor of the *Republican* and leader of the Free Soil party in the House, in order that all three of the Witches might dance around the Cauldron of the Union and contribute each her offering to the hell-broth it contains, moved to suspend the rules and act upon the question at once. This was done and leave to withdraw, given by a unanimous vote, save one, Mr. Tolman, of Worcester. And so they thought they had got rid of this troublesome visitant.

But this morning a deputation of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, carried up a memorial, signed as numerously as time would permit, asking for a reconsideration of that disposition of the Petition, in order that the Petitioners might have an opportunity to be heard, before they were ordered for execution. The object was to place it in the hands of Mr. Boutwell for presentation. The success of the application cannot be known for a day or two. But if it fail, it will be a curious proof of the sincerity of the professions of all parties for Free Discussion and Fair Play. It is not unlikely that matter for a future Epistle may grow out of this thing. But it is very funny to see the excessive loyalty which the present state of things developes to our Glorious Union, and the extreme satisfaction Massachusetts seems to take in being well kicked. It really seems to do her good. It revives her memory and makes her conscious of her office, as Moliere's Doctor in Spite of Himself, was persuaded to recollect qualities he did not know he ever possessed by the application of a stout cudgel to his shoulders and a tweak or two to his nose. If anything evolves, you may rely upon me for such an historical Narrative as my materials may justify. Sir Walter Scott used to say that he would take a story of his friends and only put on a cocked-hat on its head and a gold-headed cane in its hand, and its very father would not know it again. This, I believe, has never been laid to my charge. If there is anything for which I am remarkable it is for the strict accuracy with which I relate facts. So that mine may always be relied on as authentic beyond all cavil.

I am sorry to be compelled to say that the Collective Wisdom of Massachusetts, from the glimpse I got of it on this occasion, looked like rather a seedy generation. The General Court is not what it was when I used to know it, as a boy, from the Galleries. It looks like a Methodist Meeting and not like a Parliament. I suppose they think they have improved on their predecessors because they do not wear their hats in the House, as all well-regulated legislators do. The House of Representatives, thirty years ago, had no small resemblance to the House of Commons, as I have heard say. It was nearly as large, had a much larger number of able men than it has now, and the numbers were an excitement to the Speakers which is entirely lost, now. A man could as soon get excited in a Church Meeting, as in our House now. It was no improvement reducing the numbers, in any way. All that was manly and spirited in the action of Massachusetts was had in that crowded hall. I believe the State would have stood better on the Slavery matter at this moment, if all the towns were represented as in the old time. There is less chance for jobbing and log rolling in a large than in a small Assembly. The influence of the large towns is less strongly felt. The chance of an honest expression of opinion is much better. But its no use saying the former days were better than these, though they were *politically*, and so I will hasten to a conclusion, without more ado.—D. Y.

Foreign Correspondence.

From our London Correspondent.

London, January, 1850.

One fruitful subject of political comment here, is the state of our Colonies, and the policy that ought to influence the Government in relation to them.

They have been treated by our Aristocracy, who have always held, and still hold the reins of Government, as mere warrens for the exercise of patronage—and the people are now awake to the folly of attempting to govern men thousands of miles distant, and of expecting that a badly regulated Colony can be beneficial to the Mother Country, using that word because it has become a familiar word in relation to Colonies; but bearing in mind, nevertheless, that England has always been a step-mother, sending them out needy noblemen and other placemen for the colonist to give large salaries to, and then raising in the Home Country the idea that the Colonies were a great advantage commercially to England and therefore it was just that we should pay for the large armaments and the naval expenditure necessary to maintain those colonies under our control. The effect of which was that both peoples were fleeced, not for their common benefit, but for the benefit of the Aristocracy, because our army and navy are officered—to the extent at least of six officers where only one is needed—by the scions of the Aristocracy,—and thus we pay the enormous sum of nearly twenty millions a year for a standing army and navy, and the Colonies have to raise and pay the salaries of a local Government in whose appointment they have no voice.

Public discussion here has produced this very general conviction in the minds of the people at large, that the colonies should chose and pay their own Government, and defend themselves; and fortunately for progress our colonists are manifesting the same opinions.

At the Cape of Good Hope the people have been victorious—they refused to receive the felonry of England—they have no love for the off-scourings of our jails, and they have succeeded thus far in repelling the intentions of Lord Grey—and there is now no doubt that the order of Council for sending convicts to the Cape of Good Hope will be rescinded at its next meeting.

As to the Canadas they are ripening for the United States.

—My apprehension has been that you go-ahead Americans would not be patient enough to wait until the pear which is ripening is ripe—and that you would be foolishly inducing a war between the two countries injuring both peoples in accomplishing that by force which Nature has pre-ordained, and which the Canadians are rapidly preparing to realize.

It is an absurdity which only great ignorance could practice, to attempt to preserve a growing people in pupilage to a distant country—the tie that unites one country to another in preference to any other country is the common language. It is quite certain that whatever commerce grows up, will incline in favor of a country using the same tongue in preference to a country using a strange language.

It is a necessity of nature and therefore a social and certain tendency. And if protection be wanted for a time for an infant colony, the colonists should seek it, pay for it, and be at liberty to discontinue it when they thought fit. And these views are becoming general here and popular in the colonies, and, in proportion as the principles of Free Trade obtain practical efficiency, they will become more so, for colonists will find it is just as important to them to buy at the cheapest market and to sell when there is the greatest demand, as it is for the Mother Country.

In the next Parliament here, you will find that this subject will cause much talk, and every debate being well reported will reach the colonies and strengthen the determination of those who are for Colonial emancipation.

I remember when a youth that the Aristocracy, when the illuminations took place upon the occasion of the Peace of Amiens in 1801 or 1802, that our Government caused all our public establishments, or nearly all, to write up in lamps "Ships, Colonies and Commerce," and though we at that time had been piling upon our shoulders hundreds of millions of debt in order to preserve those colonies. Yet as a people we were made drunk in the belief that colonies were the great supports of the national greatness; and it has always been the policy of the Aristocracy by their paid hirelings in the stamped press, to teach and strengthen this error, and to strengthen their people in another and greater error, that the French people were their "natural enemies."

Thus they kept up the fighting propensity talked about England's "Wooden Walls" and went to war again with Napoleon in less than twelve months—and they kept us at it until the battle of Waterloo, and then came the day of reckoning.

The thirty years of Peace—the increase of knowledge consequent on that peace, has led the people to know that war is a game that Kings play at, with fools for chess-men.

In England we should always read for Kings, the Aristocracy—for the Kings of England since 1655 have been merely the instrumentalities under which the Aristocracy governed and *sucked* the people. The crowned head with us has been made by this Aristocracy—who have the law-making in their hands—the Chief Pauper of the State—for they have taken away the crown lands and voted the Royal income out of the taxes, which are raised annually, so that if a Revolution took place, unless the new Government should vote the income the Monarch of England would immediately become destitute.

Everything has been managed corruptly by the Aristocracy and with reference to their class-interests; and now that men are beginning to enquire into the causes of the evils under which they find themselves, they find that class-legislation is at the root, and that the Aristocracy are that class.

What will become of the poor slaves who have fled to Canada if, as is certain ere long, the Canadas become a part of your federation?

Congressional.

SENATE, Washington, Tuesday, Feb. 12.

Numerous petitions were read.

Mr. Hale presented the petition of 1,400 women of Dover, N. H. praying that Slavery may not be extended to California and New Mexico. A motion to lay the question of reception on the table was rejected—Yeas, 19; Nays, 29.

Mr. Mason said that it was obvious that the Senators had misunderstood the question in voting, the question being stated upon receiving the petition.

After some debate, Mr. Douglass proceeded with a statement of the reasons which induced him to vote for the reception of this petition, which asks non-action only; in the course of which he stated that he was prepared to show that Slavery could not go to New Mexico unless Congress carried it there. The Senator from Mississippi (Mr. Foote) had said that the abolition of Slavery in that country was the result of an edict of an usurper. He was prepared to show that that act was subsequently, in 1835, taken up by the Congress of Mexico and ratified by them.

Mr. Davis of Mississippi gave Mr. Douglass notice that this position was controverted, and he called upon him to prove his assertion. He denied that Slavery was excluded from Mexico by any existing law.

Mr. Butler complained that the Senate were imposed upon to an intolerable extent by an incendiary, a madman, if the Senate pleased, who, day after day, took up the whole of the time of the Senate in presenting petitions designed to distract and dissever—(at the word "madman," order was called from all sides of the Senate, and Mr. Butler resumed his seat with demonstrations of excessive excitement.)

Mr. Hale replied, telling Mr. Butler that he would have to talk louder and threaten harder before he would succeed in shutting his mouth. He would tell him that the poor, miserable minority, which a powerful majority had endeavored to crush, were not to be appalled even by any considerations of personal fear. New Hampshire blood coursed not through cowards' veins, and her sons who had evinced their prowess in many a field, would not surrender their constitutional privileges without a struggle.

The further consideration of the subject was then postponed until to-morrow.

The Senator took up the special order, and Mr. Berrien resumed and concluded his remarks upon the power of Congress to legislate for the Territories.

Mr. Berrien's remarks were a continuation in general, of the close legal argument of the question, including in the main, the views expressed by him during the last Congress, and applying those views in part to Mr. Clay's resolutions. He particularly adverted to Mr. Clay's remarks upon the implied faith to Maryland and Virginia, that Slavery should not be abolished by Congress in the District ceded by them, and called the Senate also to keep in mind the implied faith towards all the South. In the course of his remarks he referred to Mr. Seward's description of the benefits accruing to New York, from her portion of the surplus revenue, in advancing the educational interests of her population. In this connexion, he said, it was a melancholy fact, which appeared in comparing the statistics of crime in New York, that crime and knowledge go together

Mr. Dickinson, interposing, remarked that the Senator charged the crime of the City of New York, the depot for the reception of criminals from the entire world against the agricultural districts.

Mr. Berrien feared that, making all allowance, no better state of things could be shown.

Mr. Seward stated his readiness to meet the issue made by the Senator on this point, by a reference, at a convenient time, to the statistics.

In his closing observations, Mr. Berrien declared his belief that the North would not abolish Slavery tomorrow, if it had the power, because it entered too largely into their prosperity; the products of slave labor furnishing the material to so great an extent, for their manufactures and carrying trade. The North considered Slavery a sin, but consoles itself in the idea that as long as it is confined to the Southern States it is their sin, and that the North do not participate in it. He had no idea of a dissolution of the Union. When the idea was presented to him it floated before his mind like a vision, to which he could give no form; and yet, as the result of a desperation which may ensue upon this question, such dissolution might come, and if it did come, his feelings, sympathies, and efforts, would all be in behalf of the people with whom he had identified his interests.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The House went into the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and resumed the consideration of the reference to the President's message on affairs of California and the Territories.

Mr. Brown, of Missouri, said that during the late presidential canvass he held the ground that the people in the Territories have no right to exclude Slavery, and so he understood Mr. Cass in the Nicholson letter. He now understood Mr. Cass as affirming this power, and he reiterated that no party allegiance shall ever induce him to make this sacrifice. This much he felt constrained to say, in vindication of his position.

Mr. Inge said that the Message had been received coldly by his friend Time was, when an Executive Message, like the shrill whistle of Rhoderick Dhu, would have called forth hosts of spears and bonnets from the heather. If we are now to judge by the ominous scenes here, we must consider the President doomed to the fate of Actæon—torn to pieces by his own bounds. While a few members are disposed to sustain the policy of the President in all its details, and approve the ground on which he makes his recommendations, it will be supported by the Union. The Proviso is the same thing, in form, substance, and effect, and is enacted by Congress secondarily. Adopted originally by the people of California in the so-called Convention and enacted by Congress—because he held that the adoption of this Constitution is lawless and without effect until Congress enacted it—thereby enacting it secondarily. He then proceeded to show that all the recent political movements alluded to in the Message are attributable to the action of this Administration. The South protest against the effort to exclude them, and insist on the right to migrate to the territories with their property. The very individuals who voted to lay the Wilmot Proviso on the table, are pledged now to exclude the South, because they find another mode to carry out their views in the Executive's recommendation. The South are determined to resist at all hazards, and at every extremity. They must and are prepared to resist this aggression in every form. They must take the same position on the California proviso as on the Wilmot proviso, Slavery, in the Constitution, was in the same category with religion. The design of the Constitution was not only to sustain but to perpetuate Slavery. Slavery is recognized by the word of God, and existed in the household of his chosen people. It contributed to the development of literature, arts and science in Greece and Rome, on which was built up a civilization which illumined the ancient world and sheds light upon our own. The consequences of Slavery have been most beneficial in our country. After some remarks as to the disadvantages which would ensue should there be dissolution, he alluded to the convention which was soon to assemble in the South, unless Congress should do something to render it unnecessary. The causes which would lead to a recommendation of dissolution are greater than those which induced the Declaration of Independence from Great Britain.

Mr. Barker informed the gentleman that he would see if the Wilmot Proviso was dead, when it came up as a distinct proposition.

Mr. Inge—You will give it the go-by. Did you vote to lay it on the table?

Mr. Baker—No.

Mr. Inge—You can't answer for those who did. You are not in the secret. (Laughter.) He held it to be the duty of the South to resist the admission of California, with her present Constitution. If so, is it not the duty of her representatives to make a similar resistance? He believed that this could be done by a union of Southern men. They had defeated the Wilmot Proviso, and could defeat the California proviso. He hoped that some plan would be prepared to meet the approbation of all, so that they could present their breasts as the shield of the Constitution.

Mr. Hilliard did not for a moment doubt the patriotic motives of the President, in making his recommendations in relation to the Territories; but with the best wishes for the Administration, he could not give his support to this policy of the President. The first objection is, that the President leaves the question open, and he (Mr. Hilliard) deemed it important to settle it now. Every hour which passes reminds us that the danger is deepening and growing firmer. Mr. Clay recently said that he rose every morning with the expectation of hearing of some disaster in connection with this question; and yet it is proposed, in the present state of excited feeling, especially in the southern country, to leave open a part of this question. He wanted an adjustment full and complete—that the country may enjoy repose. To admit California as a State, would be fraught with great disaster to the Southern people. Up to this time, they have maintained something like a balance of power and equality in the Senate. To call upon them to welcome another State, would be to break up this balance. He repeated, to admit California would have deliberately transfered all power to the enemies of Southern institutions, and to drive the South into a hopeless minority, in all time to come.

Before the gentleman had concluded, the Committee rose, and the House adjourned.

SENATE.

Washington, Wednesday, Feb. 13.

The petition presented yesterday by Mr. Hale, on which the question was pending at the adjournment, was received without debate and referred to the Committee on Territories.

The Senate resumed the consideration of Mr. Clay's resolutions. Mr. Davis of Mississipi, having the floor, proceeded to address the Senate at length upon the question of Slavery, and in reply to Mr. Clay, stating that he had been bitterly disappointed in view of the course adopted by the Senator. He had hoped from him some plan of settlement, something upon which the patriotic, on all sides could agree. Instead of that, he had presented a scheme essentially conceding to the North all that was claimed by the South. Mr. Davis took the extreme Southern ground, insisting that Slavery is so recognized in the Constitution, as to make it an institution of the United States, and not simply of the State in which it exists. He proceeded at some length with an argument upon the question, whether Slavery now exists in California and New Mexico by law, making the affirmative of the proposition, assuming the ground that all the laws of Mexico abolishing Slavery are null and void, having been passed by authorities not possessed of competent jurisdiction. He also defended the institution of Slavery itself—all history ancient and modern, showed the Ethiopian, wherever found, in the condition of bondsmen. Slavery had been the only cause of permanent blessing to the African race, and emancipation was fraught with injury to them. It was a false humanity which sought to raise them above their condition;—it was an Institution of the Almighty, recognized and sanctioned by the Bible, from Genesis to Revelations

Before concluding his remarks, Mr. Davis gave way to a motion to go into Executive session which was agreed to.

After the Executive session, the doors were re-opened, when Mr. Foote laid on the table his proposition for a Select Committee of fifteen, to whom all the questions connected with the institution of Slavery shall be referred.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Mr. Stanton—The question in the last Congress was gloomy; but the spirit was greatly changed, and he deplored the necessity which compelled him to say not for the better. At the last session the symptoms of the disease were alarming, yet at this stage of affairs it might have yielded to remedies judiciously adopted and firmly administered. He feared that the disease was chronic and inveterate, extending to every part of the body politic; and subtle poison was diffused throughout the system. We have observed that nearly one-fourth of the session had been consumed in the effort to organize the House and in every attempt of election, from the Speaker to the Door-keeper, the question of Slavery came in as a fatal element. If the proper means had been resorted to at the last session, it could have been settled in an hour, and the Union secured for an indefinite period; but by the course of events, and by the action of the President, the matter has been complicated. It now only involves a consideration of the constitutional question and sectional justice, but has drawn within the vortex the weighty question of constitutional law, territorial dependencies, and high political expediency.—The Administration was obliged to change its front: its only salvation was to change the shape and form of the question, or as to conceal its danger from the eyes of the people.

Preston King again rose to a question of order, that the gentleman should not discuss circumstances under which the Administration came into power.

The Speaker thought that the gentleman was not out of order.

Mr. Stanton resumed—The policy of Mr. Buchanan was like a pillar of light, to statesmen in these dark and perilous times. In it we see the true relations existing between the Government and California. We see no attempt to alter the relations as they existed under the laws and the Constitution. The policy of Mr. Buchanan was to march up and to settle the question consistently with the Constitution and the rights of the people. He sought not to avoid the true issue The president and his supporters were stimulated by publicity and fraud. Instructions must have been given to Mr. King to advocate a Constitution of California without Slavery.

Mr. Duer desired to be informed how the gentleman knew this.

Mr. Stanton said that Mr. King was sent out to California with the wishes of the President as to the terms on which she would be admitted into the Union. The conduct of the President was a crime against the highest interests of one-half of the Confederacy and jeoparded the existence of the Union itself. It was not a blunder, for a blunder is excusable. There was a revolution in California and the President placed at the head of it the Wilmot proviso; and it was enacted there by the President. The people of the South are virtually excluded from the Territories which they helped to purchase with their blood. He had a high respect for the intelligence and enterprise of the people of California, but those people would scarcely expect us to violate a fundamental principle to enable them to come into the Union. While this would be fatal to the South, it would be fatal to them. It would be vain to rally on the Constitution, when the spirit of fanaticism tramples on the rights of the South. The Wilmot proviso is dead. He believed that it was the policy of Northern men not to permit the proviso to be passed. They must do this in order to sustain the policy of the President. California can never be admitted into the Union without a compromise. The responsibility will rest on those who have given birth to the premature movement. It will be difficult to remand California back into a Territorial condition. If it could be done now, all might be safe, but this was for the future to solve. If any man desires to restore the Union to its original state, it can only be done by restoring the Constitution to its pristine purity, and ceasing, now and forever, from the warfare made on the most vulnerable interests and rights of the South. The difficulty was not to dissolve the Union, but to preserve it. This will require all the wisdom, moderation and prudence of your Clays, Casses, Buchanans, Websters, and other great men, to resist the downward tendency of events; if this can be done, he would hail the event with fervent joy. If California be forced on the South, in spite of their remonstrances and the unconstitutional means by which a State was formed, and without such a compromise as may arise, he would be ready to make a struggle on this ground. He would be prepared to abandon a Union which no longer enabled the South to preserve their rights and interests.

On motion of Mr. Vinton, the motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

After the presentation of numerous memorials, the Senate resumed the consideration of Mr. Clay's resolutions.

Mr. Davis, of Miss resumed and concluded his remarks, in reply to Mr. Clay, contending that slave labor would be necessary and profitable in California. He advocated and defended the course pursued by the South upon the Slavery question, and said she would continue in the path marked out. He denied that she preached disunion, or had threatened any such measure. He also defended the action of Mississippi in relation to the June Convention, declaring that it was not the work of political leaders, but the result of the calm, dispassionate deliberation of the best and wisest men of the State.

In conclusion, Mr Davis alluded more especially to the evils of Disunion, and asserted that it rested with the North to say whether the last page in our National History shall be written in blood, and descriptive of the wreck and ruin of the Republic. The South asked nothing but equality, and would be satisfied with nothing less The North has been the aggressor, and it was nothing but a spirit of holy attachment which had bound the South to the Union. He called upon the majority to propose a scheme of compromise; the proposition ought to come from those who had the power to adopt it. He also objected to the admission of any State into the Union until it had gone through the regular course of Territorial Government, in order, that when they present themselves for admission, it may be known who they are, what they were, and what is their certificate.

Mr Downs next took the floor, when the further consideration of the suciect was postponed until Monday.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the President's Message, transmitting the Constitution of California—the question pending being first upon the motion to refer to the Committee on Territories.

Mr. Douglass expressed his willingness to assent to a proposition to refer the message, and all other matters connected with the subject of Slavery, to a Select Committee.

Mr. Clay would cheerfully vote a reference of the Message to the Territorial Committee, but he submitted that it would not be right to combine the admission of California with all the other questions connected with, or growing out of the proposition to establish Governments in the Territory, and threw the consideration of the whole of them upon one Committee. Was it right, under all the circumstances, that the members of Congress who had come from the Pacific could be subjected to all the delay which must result from the reference of these several distracting questions to one Committee? He did not design now to argue the question of the admission of California, or her boundaries, but he submitted that Congress ought to decide upon the question of admission, one way or the other, at as early a day as can be, with due deliberation.

Mr. Foote expressed his great surprise at the remarks of the Senator from Kentucky; the Senator had excluded himself, according to his own account, from all the world, and concocted a series of resolutions which he presented to the Senate in a speech evidently prepared with great deliberation, and yet now he repudiated the very idea which forwarded his resolutions, and wanted to take up one of his propositions, separate from the series which he had prepared. The Senator had designed to settle all the disturbing questions connected with the institution of Slavery. Who would have thought, after reading that speech, that the honorable Senator desired to stop one leak in the ship of the State, and leave the others open? Nor could any one have supposed that he desired to separate one question from the other for the purpose of settling that, to the great detriment and wrong of the people of the South?

Mr. Foote made three suggestions, in order to give Mr. Clay an opportunity to explain this apparent inconsistency between his speech of the other day and his present proposition. He then proceeded with a personal attack upon Mr. Benton, whom he noticed the other day to go over and hold a conversation with Mr. Clay, upon which occasion he (Mr. Foote) expressed his conviction to a friend that there was some scheme on foot for the injury of the South, as the Senator to whom he had alluded had a sort of family interest in the admission of California. He thought himself justified in the supposition that some proposition was on foot to drag the California Senators in by the ears, as it were. He was proceeding with some allusion to Mr. Fremont as the son-in-law of Mr. Benton, when Mr. Dodge of Iowa called him to order.

Mr. Benton turning to Mr. Dodge, said—"I beg of you to let him go on."

The Vice-President directed Mr. Foote to take his seat.

Mr. Dodge said, he had called Mr. Foote to order, because he had denounced the proposition to admit California, as a scheme. For one he approved of it; would vote for it; and called upon the Chair to protect the friends of the measure from an aspersion of their motives.

Mr. Foote disclaimed any intention of impugning the motives of the friends of the measure, and then proceeded with some remarks to show that he was a friend of California, but he must say that the admission of California, as she now presents herself here, would inevitably dissolve the Union. For that reason he could not vote for the admission. He next explained, and advocated, his proposition for a Select Committee of fifteen, seven from each section, and the fifteen to be selected in any way the Senate may designate, to whom shall be referred all the questions now agitating the Union.

Mr. Clay said there was nothing novel in the supposition that he was in favor of the admission of California into the Union. The Senator from Mississippi had charged him with inconsistency in having, as he asserted, changed his course upon a certain question. If disposed to retaliate upon that Senator, he might say that upon his own confession he had himself been inconsistent, having changed his opinion upon the same subject. He had just said that a year ago, when California had no Constitution, he was in favor of admission into the Union; whereas now he opposed the same measure when she appeared here with a Constitution, in the same manner that Flordia, Louisiana, and other States had presented themselves.

Mr. Foote interposing, said he was not opposed to the admission of California, but to the mode in which it is proposed to be accomplished.

Mr. Turney desired Mr. Clay to say whether Louisiana had not had a Territorial Government prior to her admission into the Union?

Mr. Clay replied in the negative. She had a local Government under the laws of Mexico but prior to her admission no action had been taken by Congress, with a view to the formation, by the people, of a constitution or anything of the kind. The Senator from Mississippi had made a sort of an omnibus speech, in which he had introduced all sorts of things and passengers, and endeavored to draw him (Mr. Clay) in among them. He would therefore,

Miscellany.

The *Literary World* publishes in advance the following chapter from Irving's Life of Mahomet, now in press:

SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM.

THE Moslem invaders reposed for a month at Damascus from the toil of conquest, during which time Abu Obeidah sent to the Caliph to know whether he should undertake the siege of Cæsarea, or Jerusalem. Ali was with Omar at the time, and advised the instant siege of the latter; for such, he said, had been the intention of the prophet. The enterprise against Jerusalem was a holy war to the Moslems, for they reverence it as an ancient seat of prophecy and revelation, connected with the histories of Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet, and sanctified by containing the tombs of several of the ancient prophets. The Caliph adopted the advice of Ali, and ordered Abu Obeidah to lead his army into Palestine, and lay siege to Jerusalem.

On receiving these orders, Abu Obeidah sent forward Yezed Abu Sofian, with five thousand men, to commence the siege, and for five successive days detached after him considerable reinforcements. The people of Jerusalem saw the approach of these portentous invaders, who were spreading such consternation throughout the East, but they made no sally to oppose them, nor sent out any one to parley, but planted engines on their walls, and prepared for vigorous defence. Yezed approached the city and summoned it by sound of trumpet, propounding the customary terms, profession of the faith or tribute: both were rejected with disdain. The Moslems would have made instant assault, but Yezed had no such instructions; he encamped, therefore, and waited until orders arrived from Abu Obeidah to attack the city, when he made the necessary preparations.

At cock-crow in the morning the Moslem host was marshalled, the leaders repeated the matin prayer each at the head of his battalion, and all, as if by one consent, with a loud voice gave the verse from the Koran: "Enter ye, oh people! into the holy land which Allah hath destined for you."

For ten days they made repeated but unavailing attacks: on the eleventh day Abu Obeidah brought the whole army to their aid. He immediately sent a written summons requiring the inhabitants to believe in the unity of God, the divine mission of Mahomet, the resurrection and final judgment: or else to acknowledge allegiance, and pay tribute to the Caliph: "otherwise, concluded the letter, "I will bring men against you, who love death better than you love wine or swine's flesh; nor will I leave you, God willing, until I have destroyed your fighting men, and made slaves of your children."

The summons was addressed to the magistrates and principal inhabitants of Ælia, for so Jerusalem was named after the emperor Ælius Adrian, when he rebuilt that city.

Sophronius, the Christian patriarch, or bishop of Jerusalem, replied that this was the holy city, and the holy land, and that whoever entered either, for a hostile purpose, was an offender in the eyes of God. He felt some confidence in setting the invaders at defiance, for the walls and towers of the city had been diligently strengthened, and the garrison had been reinforced by fugitives from Yermouk, and from various parts of Syria. The city, too, was strong in its situation, being surrounded by deep ravines and a broken country; and above all there was a pious incentive to courage and perseverance in defending the sepulchre of Christ.

Four wintry months elapsed; every day there were sharp skirmishings; the besiegers were assailed by sallying parties, annoyed by the engines on the walls, and harrassed by the inclement weather; still they carried on the siege with undiminished spirit. At length the patriarch Sophronius held a parley from the walls with Abu Obeidah. "Do you not know," said he, "that this city is holy; and that whoever offers violence to it draws upon his head the vengeance of heaven?"

"We know it," replied Abu Obeidah, "to be the house of the prophets, where their bodies lie interred; we know it to be the place whence our prophet Mahomet made his nocturnal ascent to heaven; and we know that we are more worthy of possessing it than you are, nor will we raise the siege until Allah has delivered it into our hands, as he has done many other places."

Seeing there was no further hope, the patriarch consented to give up the city, on condition that the Caliph would come in person to take possession and sign the articles of surrender.

When this unusual stipulation was made known to the Caliph, he held a council with his friend Othman despised the people of Jerusalem, and was for refusing their terms, but Ali represented the sanctity and importance of the place in the eyes of the Christians which might prompt them to reinforce it, and to make a desperate defence if treated with indignity. Besides, he added, the presence of the Caliph would cheer and inspirit the army in their long absence, and after the hardships of a wintry campaign.

The words of Ali had their weight with the Caliph: though certain Arabian writers pretend that he was chiefly moved by a tradition handed down in Jerusalem from days of yore, which said, that a man of his name, religion and personal appearance, should conquer the holy city. Whatever may have been his inducements, the Caliph resolved to receive in person the surrender of Jerusalem. He accordingly appointed Ali to officiate in his place during his absence from Medina; then, having prayed at the mosque, and paid a pious visit to the tomb of the prophet, he set out on his journey.

The progress of this formidable potentate, who already held the destinies of empires in his grasp, and had the plunder of the Orient at his command, is characteristic of the primitive days of Mahometanism, and reveals, in some measure, the secret of its success. He travelled on a red or sorrel camel, across which was slung an alforja, or wallet, with a huge sack or pocket at each end, something like the modern saddle-bags. Our pocket contained dates and dried fruits, and the other a provision called sawik, which was nothing more than barley, rice, or wheat, parched or sodden. Before him hung a leathern bottle, or sack, for water, and behind him a wooden platter. His companions, without distinction of rank, ate with him out of the same dish, using their fingers according to Oriental usage. He slept at night on a mat spread out under a tree, or under a common Bedouin tent of hair-cloth, and never resumed his march until he had offered up the morning prayer.

As he journeyed through Arabia, in this simple way, he listened to the complaints of the people, redressed their grievances, and administered justice with sound judgment and a rigid hand. Information was brought to him of an Arab who was married to two sisters, a practice not unusual among idolaters, but the man was now a Mahometan. Omar cited the culprit and his two wives into his presence, and taxed him roundly with his offence; but he declared his ignorance that it was contrary to the law of the prophet.

"Thou liest!" said Omar, "thou shalt part with one of them instantly or lose thy head."

"Evil was the day that I embraced such a religion," muttered the culprit. "Of what advantage has it been to me?"

"Come nearer to me," said Omar: and on his approaching, the Caliph bestowed two wholesome blows on his head with his walking-staff.

"Enemy of God and thyself," cried he, let these blows reform thy manners, and teach thee to speak with more reverence of a religion ordained by Allah, and acknowledged by the best of his creatures."

He then ordered the offender to choose between his wives, and finding him at a loss which to prefer, the matter was determined by lot, and he was dismissed by the Caliph with this parting admonition: "Whoever professes Islam, and afterwards renounces it, is punishable with death; therefore take heed to your faith. And as to your wife's sister, whom you have put away, if ever I hear that you have meddled with her, you shall be stoned."

At another place he beheld a number of men exposed to the burning heat of the sun by their Moslem conquerors, as a punishment for failing to pay their tribute. Finding, on inquiry, that they were entirely destitute of means, he ordered them to be released; and turning reproachfully to their oppressors, "Compel no men," said he, "to more than they can bear; for I heard the apostle of God say, he who afflicts his fellow-man in this world, will be punished with the fire of Jehennam."

While yet within a day's journey of Jerusalem, Abu Obeidah came to meet him and conduct him to the camp. The Caliph proceeded with due deliberation, never forgetting his duties as a priest and teacher of Islam. In the morning he said the usual prayers, and preached a sermon, in which he spoke of those whom God should lead in the right way: but added, that there was no help for such as God should lead into error.

A grey-headed Caristian priest, who set before him, could not resist the opportunity to criticise the language of the Caliph preacher. "God leads no man into error," said he, aloud.

Omar deigned no direct reply, but, turning to those around, "Strike off that old man's head," said he, "if he repeats his words."

The old man was discreet, and held his peace.—There was no arguing against the sword of Islam.

On his way to the camp Omar beheld a number of Arabs, who had thrown by the simple garb of their country, and arrayed themselves in the silken spoils of Syria. He saw the danger of this luxury and effeminacy, and ordered that they should be dragged with their faces in the dirt, and their silken garments torn from their backs.

When he came in sight of Jerusalem he lifted up his voice and exclaimed, "Allah Achbar! God is mighty! God grant us an easy conquest!" Then commanding his tent to be pitched, he dismounted from his camel and sat down within it on the ground. The Christians thronged to see the sovereign of this new and irresistible people, who were overrunning and subduing the earth. The Moslems, fearful of an attempt at assasination, would have kept them at a distance, but Omar rebuked their fears. "Nothing will befall us but what God hath decreed. Let the faithful trust in him."

The arrival of the Caliph was followed by immediate capitulation. When the deputies from Jerusalem were admitted to a parley they were astonished to find this dreaded potentate a bald-headed man, simply clad, and seated on the ground in a tent of hair-cloth.

The articles of surrender were drawn up in writing by Omar, and served afterwards as a model for the Moslem leaders in other conquests. The Christians were to build no new churches in the surrendered territory. The church doors were to be set open to travellers, and free ingress permitted to Mahometans by day and night. The bells should only toll, and not ring, and no crosses should be erected on the churches, nor shown publicly in the streets. The Christians should not teach the Koran to their children: nor speak openly of their religion; nor attempt to make proselytes: nor hinder their kinsfolk from embracing Islam. They should not assume the Moslem dress, either caps, slippers, or turbans, nor part their hair like Moslems, but should always be distinguished by girdles. They should not use the Arabian language in inscriptions on their signets, nor salute after the Moslem manner, nor be called by Moslem surnames. They should rise on the entrance of a Moslem, and remain standing until he should be seated. They should entertain every Moslem traveller three days gratis. They should sell no wine, bear no arms, and use no saddle in riding; neither should they have any domestic who had been in Moslem service.

Such were the degrading conditions imposed upon the proud city of Jerusalem, once the glory and terror of the East, by the leader of a host of wandering Arabs. They were the conditions generally imposed by the Moslems in their fanatical career of conquest. Utter scorn and abhorrence of their religious adversaries formed one of the main pillars of their faith.

The Christians having agreed to surrender on these terms, the Caliph gave them under his own hand, an assurance of protection in their lives and fortunes, the use of their churches, and the exercise of their religion.

Omar entered the once splendid city of Solomon on foot, in his simple Arab garb, with his walking-staff in his hand, and accompanied by the venerable Sophronius, with whom he talked familiarly, inquiring about the antiquities and public edifices. The worthy patriarch treated the conqueror with all outward deference, but if we may trust the words of a Christian historian, he loathed the dirty Arab in his heart, and was particularly disgusted with his garb of coarse woollen, patched with sheepskin. His disgust was almost irrepressible when they entered the church of the Resurrection, and Sophronius beheld the Caliph in his filthy attire, seated in the midst of the sacred edifice. "This of a truth," exclaimed he, "is the abomination of desolation predicted by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place."

It is added that to pacify the cleanly scruples of the patriarch, Omar consented to put on clean raiment which he offered him, until his own garments were washed.

An instance of the strict good faith of Omar is related as occurring on this visit to the Christian temples. While he was standing with the patriarch in the church of the Resurrection, one of the stated hours of Moslem worship arrived, and he demanded where he might pray. "Where you now are," replied the patriarch. Omar, however, refused, and went forth. The patriarch conducted him to the church of Constantine and spread a mat for him to pray there; but again he refused. On going forth, he knelt, and prayed on the flight of steps leading down from the east gate of the church. This done, he turned to the patriarch, and gave him a generous reason for his conduct. "Had I prayed in either of the churches," said he, "the Moslems would have taken possession of it, and consecrated it as a mosque."

So scrupulous was he in observing his capitulations respecting the churches, that he gave the patriarch a writing, forbidding the Moslems to pray upon the steps where he had prayed, except one person at a time. The zeal of the faithful, however, outstripped their respect for his commands, and one half of the steps and porch was afterwards included in a mosque built over the spot which he had accidentally sanctified.

The Caliph next sought the place where the temple of Solomon had stood, where he founded a mosque: which, in after times, being enlarged and enriched by succeeding Caliphs, became one of the noblest edifices of Islam worship, and second only to the magnificent mosque of Cordova.

The surrender of Jerusalem took place in the seventeenth year of the Hegira, and the six hundred and thirty-seventh year of the Christian era.

THE DEATH OF HOWARD:

LAST SCENES AT CHERSON.

"EARLY on the morning of the 20th [January, 1790], came to see him his most intimate friend, Admiral Priestman—a Russianized Englishman in the service of the Empress. During his sojourn at Cherson, Howard had been in the habit of almost daily intercourse with his gallant ex-countryman. When taken ill, not himself considering it at first serious, no notice of it had been sent out; but not seeing his friend for several days, Priestman began to feel uneasy, and went off to his lodgings to learn the cause. He found Howard sitting at a small stove in his bedroom—the winter was excessively severe—and very weak and low. The Admiral thought him merely snoring under a temporary depression of spirits, and by lively, rattling conversation, endeavored to rouse him from his torpidity. But Howard was fully conscious that death was nigh. He knew now that he was *not* to die in Egypt; and, in spite of his friend's cheerfulness, his mind still reverted to the solemn thought of his approaching end. Priestman told him not to give way to such gloomy fancies, and they soon would leave him. 'Priestman,' said Howard, in his mild and serious voice, 'you style this a dull conversation, and endeavor to divert my mind from dwelling on the thought of death; but I entertain very different sentiments. Death has no terror for me: it is an event I always look to with cheerfulness if not with pleasure; and be assured, the subject is more grateful to me than any other.' And then he went on to say—'I am well aware that I have but a short time to live; my mode of life has rendered it impossible that I should get rid of this fever. If I had lived as you do, eating heartily of animal food and drinking wine, I might, perhaps, by altering my diet, have been able to subdue it. But how can such a man as I am lower his diet, who has been accustomed for years to live upon vegetables and water, a little bread, and a little tea? I have no method of lowering my nourishment—and therefore I die;' and then turning to his friend, added, smiling—'it is only such jolly fellows as you, Priestman, who get over these fevers.' This melancholy pleasantry was more than the gallant sailor could bear; he turned away to conceal his emotion; his heart was full, and he remained silent, whilst Howard, with no despondency in his tone, but with a calm and settled serenity of manner, as if the death-pangs were already past, went on to speak of his end, and of his wishes as to his funeral. 'There is a spot,' said he, 'near the village of Dauphiney—this would suit me nicely; you know it well, for I have often said that I should like to be buried there; and let me beg of you, as you value your old friend, not to suffer any pomp to be used at my funeral; nor let any monument nor monumental inscription whatsoever be made to mark where I am laid; but lay me quietly in the earth, place a sun-dial over my grave, and let me be forgotten.'

"In this strain of true Christian philosophy did Howard speak of his exit from a world in which he felt that he had done his work. The ground in which he had selected to fix his everlasting rest, situated about two miles from Cherson, on the edge of the great highway to St. Nicholas, belonged to a French gentleman who had treated him with distinguished attention and kindness during his stay in the vicinity; and having made his choice, he was very anxious to know whether permission could be obtained for the purpose, and begged his gallant friend to set off immediately, and ascertain that for him. Priestman was not very willing to leave his friend at such a time and on such a gloomy errand; he fancied people would think him crazy in asking permission to ask a grave for a man still alive, and whom few as yet knew to be ill; but the earnestness of the dying martyr at length overcame his reluctance and he set forth.

"Scarcely had he departed on his strange mission, when a letter arrived from England, written by a gentleman who had just been down to Leicester to see young Howard, giving a highly favorable account of the progress of his recovery, and expressing a belief that when the Philanthropist returned to his native land, he would find his son greatly improved.—This intelligence came to the death-bed of the pious Christian like a ray of light from heaven. His eye brightened; a heavy load seemed lifted from his heart: and he spoke of his child with the tenderness and affection of a mother. He called Thomasson to his bed-side, and bade him tell his son when he went home, how long and how fervently he had prayed for his recovery, and especially during this last illness.

"Towards evening, Admiral Priestman returned from a successful application; with this result Howard appeared highly gratified, and soon after his arrival retired to rest. Priestman, conscious now of the imminency of the danger, would leave him alone no more, but resolutely remained and sat at the bed side. Although still sensible, Howard had now become too weak to converse. After a long silence, during which he seemed lost in profound meditation, he recovered for a moment his presence of mind, and taking the letter which had just before come to hand—evidently the subject of his thoughts—out of his bosom, he gave it to the Admiral to read: and when the latter had glanced it through, said tenderly:—'Is not this a comfort for a dying father?' These were almost the last words he uttered. Soon after, he fell into a state of unconsciousness, the calm of sleep, of an unbroken rest—but even then the insensibility was more apparent than real, for on Admiral Mordvinoff, who arrived just in time to see the last of his illustrious friend, asking permission to send for a certain doctor in whom he had great faith, the patient gave a sign which implied consent: but before the person could arrive he had fallen off.—'Howard was dead!'—*Dixon's Life of Howard.*

THE MAIDEN AND MARRIED LIFE OF MARY POWELL.

A HONEYMOON cannot forever last; nor sense of danger, when it long hath past;—but one little difference from out manie greater differences between my late happie fortnighte in St. Martin's-le-Grand, and my present dailie course in Barbican, hath marked the distinction between lover and husband. There it was 'Sweet Moll,' 'My heart's life of life,' 'My dearest cleaving mischief;' here, 'tis onlie 'Wife,' 'Mistress Milton,' or, at most, 'Deare or sweet wife.' This, I know, is masterfulle and seemly.

Onlie, this morning, chancing to quote one of his owne lines,

These things may startle well, but not astounde—

he sayd, in a kind of wonder. "Why, Moll, whence had you that? Methought you hated versing, as you used to call it. When learnt you to love it?" I hung my head in my old foolish way, and answered, "Since I learnt to love the verser." "Why, this is the best of alle!" he hastilie cried; "can my sweet wife be indeede heart of my heart and spirit of my spirit? I lost, or drove away a child, and have found a woman.' Thereafter he less often wifed me, and I found I was agayn sweet Moll.

This afternoon, Christopher Milton lookt in on us. After saluting me with ye usuall mixture of malice and civilitie in his looks, he fell into easie conversation; and presenthe says to his brother quietlie enough, "I saw a curious pennyworth at a book-stall as I came along this morning.'—"What was that?" says my husband, brightening up. "It had a long name," says Christopher: "I think it was called Tetrachordon." My husband cast me a suddain, quick look, but I did not soe much as change color, and quietlie continued my sewing.

"I wonder," says he, after a pause, "that you did not invest a small portion of your capitall in the work, as you say it was soe greate a bargain. However, Mr. Kit, let me give you one small hint with all ye goode humour imaginable; don't take advantage of our neare and deare relation to make too frequent opportunities of saying to me anything that would certainlie procure for another man a thrashing!"

Then, after a short silence betweene alle, he suddainlie burst out laughing, and cried, "I know 'tis on the stalls; I've seen it, Kit, myself! Oh, had you seene, as I did, the blockheads poring over the title, and hammering at it while you might have walked to Mile End and back!"

"That's fame, I suppose," says Christopher, drylie; and then goes off to talk of some new exercise of the press-licencer's authoritie, which he seemed to approve, but it kindled my husband in a minute.

"What folly! what nonsense!" cried he, smiting the table; "these Jacks in office sometimes devise such senseless things that I really am ashamed of being of theire party. License, indeed! their license! I suppose they will shortlie license the lengthe of Moll's curls, and regulate the color of her hoode, and forbid the larks to sing within sounde of Bow bell, and the bees to hum o' Sundays. Methoughte I had broken Mabbot's teeth two years agone; but I must bring forthe a new edition of my Areopagitica; and I'll put your name down, Kit, for a hundred copies!"

Oct.—Though a rusticall life hath ever had my suffrages, nothing can be more pleasant than our regular course. We rise at five or sooner; while my husband combs his hair, he commonly hums or sings some psalm or hymn, versing it, maybe, as he goes on. Being drest, Ned reads him a chapter in the Hebrew Bible. With Ned stille at his knee, and me by his side, he expounds and improves ye same; then, after a shorte heartie prayer, releases us both. Before I have finished my dressing, I hear him below at his organ, with the two lads, who sing as well as choristers, hymning anthems and Gregorian chants, now soaring up to ye clouds, as 'twere, and then dying off as though some wide echoing space lay betweene us. I usuallie find time to tie on my hoode and slip away to ye herb-market for a bunch of fresh radishes or cresses, a sprig of parsley, or at ye least a posy, to lay on his plate. A good wheaten loaf, fresh butter and eggs, and a large jug of milk compose our simple breakfast; for he likes not, as my father, to see boys hacking a huge piece of beef nor cares for heavie feeding, himself. Onlie, olde Mr. Milton sometimes takes a rasher of toasted bacon, but commonly, a basin of furmity, which I prepare more to his minde than ye servants can.

After breakfast, I well know the boys' lessons will last till noone. I theretore go to my closett duties after my Forest Hill Fashion; thence to market, buy what I neede, come home, look to my maids, give forthe needfulle stores, then to my needle, my books, or perchance to my lute, which I woulde faine play better. From twelve to one is the boys' hour of pastime; and it may generallie be sayd, my husband's and mine too. He draws aside the green curtain—for we sit mostly in a large chamber shaped like the letter T, and thus divided while at our separate duties; my end is ye pleasantest, has the sun most upon it, and hath a balcony overlooking a garden. At one, we dine; always on simple, plain dishes but dressed with neatnesse and care. Olde Mr. Milton sits at my right hand and says grace; and, though growing a little deaf, enters into alle ye livelie discourse at table. He loves me to help him to ye tenderest, by reason of his losse of teeth. My husband careth not to sitt over the wine; and hath noe sooner finished the cheese and pippins than he reverts to the viol or organ, and not onlie sings himself, but will make me sing too, though he sayth my voice is better than my ear. Never was there such a tuqetull spiritt. He alwaies tears himself away at laste, as with a kind of violence, and returns to his books at six o' the clock. Meantime, his old father dozes, and I sew at his side.

From six to eight, we are seldom without friends, chance visitants often scholarlike and witty, who tell us all ye news, and remain to partake of a light supper. The boys enjoy this season as much as I doe, though with books before them, their hands over their ears, pretending to con the morrow's tasks. If the guests chance to be musicalle, the lute and viol are broughte forthe, to alternate with roundelay and madrigal; the old man beating time with his feeble fingers, and now and then joining with his quavering voice. (By the way, he hath not forgotten to this hour, my imputed crime of losing that song by Harry Lawes; my husband takes my part, and sayth it will turn up some day when leaste expected, like Justinian's Paudects.) Hubert brings him his pipe and a glass of water, and then I crave his blessing and goe to bed; first, praying ferventlie for alle beneathe this deare roof, and then for alle at Sheepscote and Forest Hill.

On Sabbaths, besides the public ordinances of devotion, which I cannot, with alle my striking, bring myselt to love like ye services to which I have beene accustomed, we have much reading, singing, and discoursing among ourselves. The maids sing, the boys sing, Hubert sings, olde Mr. Milton sings; and trulie with so much of it, I woulde sometimes as lief have them quiete. The Sheepscote Sundays suited me better. The sabbath exercise of the boys is to read a chapter in the Greek testament, heare my husband expounde the same; and write out a system of divinitie as he dictates to them, walking to and fro. In listening thereto, I find my pleasure and profitt.

I have alsoe my owne little catechizing, after a humbler sorte, in ye kitchen, and some poore folk to relieve and console, with my husband's concurrence and encouragement. Thus, the Sabbath is devoutlie and happilie passed.

My husband also takes, once in a fortnighte or soe, what he blythelie calls "a gaudy day," equallie to his owne content, the boys', and mine. On these occasions, it is my province to provide colde fowls or pigeon pie, which Hubert carries, with what else we neede, to the spot selected for our camp dinner.—Sometimes we take boat to Richmond or Greenwich. Two young gallants, Mr. Alphrey and Mr. Miller, love to joyn our partie, and toil at the oar, or scramble up the hills, as merrilie as the boys. I must say they deal savagelie with the piegon pie afterwards. They have as wild spiritts as our Dick and Harry, but withal a most wonderful reverence for my husband, whom they courte to read and recite, and provoke to pleasant argument, never prolonged to wearinesse, and seasoned with frolic, jest, and witt.—Olde Mr. Milton joyns not these parties. I leave him alwaies to Dolly's care, firste providing for him a sweatbread or some smalle relish, such as he loves. He is in bed ere we return, which is oft by moonlighte.

How soone must smiles give way to tears! Here is a letter from deare mother, taking no note of what I write to her, and for good reason, she is soe distraught at her owne and deare father's ill condition. The rebels (I must call them such) have soe stript and oppress them, they cannot make theire house tenantable; nor have aughte to feede on, had they e'en a whole roof over their heads. The neighborhoode is too hot to holde them; olde friends cowardlie and suspicious, olde and new foes in league together. Leave Oxon they must; but where to goe? Father, despite his broken health and hatred of the foreigner, must needes depart beyond seas; at leaste within ye six months; but how, with an emptie purse, make his way in a strange land, with a wife and seven children at his heels? Soe ends mother with a "Lord have mercy upon us!" as though her house was as surelie doomed to destruction as if it helde ye plague.

Mine eyes were yet swollen with tears, when my husband stept in. He askt, "What ails you, precious wife?" I coulde but sigh, and give him the letter. Having read ye same, he says, "But what my dearest? Have we not ample room here for them all? I speak as to generalls, you must care for particulars, and stow them as you will. There are plenty of small rooms for the boys; but, if your father, being infirm, needes a ground-floor chamber, you and I will mount aloft.

I coulde but look my thankfullenesse and kiss his hand. "Nay," he added, with increasing gentlenesse, "think not I have seene your cares for my own father without loving and blessing you. Let Mr. Powell come and see us happie; it may tend to make him soe. Let him and his abide with us, at the leaste, till the spring; his lads will studdy and play with mine, your mother will help you in your housewiferie, the two olde men will chirp together beside the Christmasse hearth; and, if I find thy weeklie bills the heavier t'will be but to write another book, and make a better bargain for it than I did for the last. We will use hospitalitie without grudging; and, as for your own increase of cares, I suppose 't will be but to order two legs of mutton insteade of one!"

And soe, with a laugh, left me, most joyfulle, happy wife! to drawe sweete out of sowre, delighte out of sorrowe; and to summon mine owne kindred aboute me, and wipe away theire tears, bid them eat, drink, and be merry, and shew myselfe to them, how proud, now cherished a wife!

Surelie my mother will learne to love John Milton at last! If she doth not, this will be my secret crosse, for 't is hard to love dearlie two persons who esteeme not one another. But she will, she must, not onlie respect him for his uprightnesse and magnanimitie, coupled with what himselfe calls "an honest haughtinesse and self-esteeme," but *like* him for his kind and equall temper, (*not* "harsh and crabbed," as I have hearde her call it,) his easie flow of mirthe, his manners, unaffectedlie cheerfulle; his voice, musicall; his person, beautifull; his habitt, gracefull; his hospitalitie, naturall to him: his purse, countenance, time, trouble, at his friend's service; his devotion, humble; his forgivenesse, heavenlie! May it please God that my mother shall like John Milton! * * *

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

"He who is great in his own estimation,
Is like a man standing upon a mountain;—
All seem little to him, from above;
And he, heaven knows, looks little from below;

To the Editor of the Manchester Inspector:

SIR,—In glancing over the first number of your paper, my eye was caught by the vulgar slang of the title of an article—"*The Anti-Capital-Puhishments Humbug.*" I read the article with a disgust and indignation which must, I think, be shared even by the advocates of the Punishment of Death. I do not object to it because you differ from me in opinion; but as an opponent, for the last twelve years, in private and in public, of this mode of punishment, I must protest against it on the three following grounds:—1st. Its offensive levity; 2nd. Its savage ferocity; and 3d. The gross injustice with which it misrepresents the pleaders for the sanctity of human life.

1st. Surely the violent death of a human being, the execution of a murderer by the hands of the law, is not thus flippantly to be spoken of. "'In the blind heat of resentment,' (says society,) you may kill the wrong man. *We will do the job for you*; we will try the accused formally and deliberately; we will examine witnesses; *we will give him a man with a wig to palavar his best for him.* If, after all, he is found guilty, we shall send him from off the earth which his presence disgraces; and the responsibility (for all mistakes) shall rest with us, not you." Is this the tone in which an instructor of the people should treat a subject so solemn, and even lawful, in the estimation of every right-thinking man, whether or not he be opposed to the punishment of death?

2nd. Under the thin disguise of an alias ("*a young friend writes*"), we have the following tissue of mingled egotism and ferocity: "If these philanthropists succeed in abolishing capital punishments by law, they will but re-introduce the older and wilder methods: *I can tell them that.*" (Hear, ye philanthropists, and tremble.) "If the murderer is no longer to be executed by society, the mob, extemporising some swift method of mob trial, will rend him from limb to limb. If these philanthropists succeed—and *any one dear to me is murdered, my own hands*" (the "young friend" identifies himself with the *mob*) "*will (if they can) take speedy vengeance on the murderer:*" I CAN TELL THE PHILANTHROPISTS THAT." Verily, a truculent and bloodthirsty fellow this "*young friend*" of the editor! A worthy successor to Calcraft himself, and one whose nerves, seemingly, will not fail him! But, in seriousness, in this language, are these thoughts, befitting a Christian writer, old or young? Their conceit and imbecility may render them ludicrous, but their atrocity is not the less to be condemned.

3rd. With most wilful perversity you insist on charging the opponents of capital punishment with morbid sympathy with the blood-stained criminal. We are denounced "as men whose hard eyes drop tears over the off-scourings of the race swinging on their well-merited gallows." Vain does it seem, again and again, to declare that capital punishment is opposed for the sake, not of the criminal, but of society; not because the criminal deserves compassion, but because his execution, and especially his public execution, tends to brutalize the nation, to foster such feelings as those which the Inspector ventures to avow,—because, far from diminishing, it increases, the very evil which it is intended to destroy. It is not necessary here to argue the question itself. The voice of the nation will ere long practically settle this,—the mimic ribaldry of "The Inspector," and his "young friend," notwithstanding. Let it suffice to say, that even if revenge, not reformation and prevention, be the legitimate object of punishment, (and if so why not add *torture* to *death?*)—modes of punishment much more severe, and to the mass of men more terrible, than death may easily be devised. By many of the criminal class, death is viewed with stupid indifference, by many it is regarded as an escape from the manifold sufferings of life. But be this as it may, the strangling of guilty men and women cannot much longer be continued to shock and sicken the humane, to amuse "the offscourings of the race," who feast their eyes on the victims of "the well merited gallows,"—to gratify the unregenerate vindictiveness of editors and "young friends," and to stimulate the destructive instincts of "the mob," familiarising them with the very horrors from which it is vainly designed to make them shrink.

A word of advice to you, Mr. Editor, in conclusion. Beware of the dangerous company of "young friends," and "sarcastic young philosophers," whose age, after all, is, to an hour, coincident with your own. Respect them less, and good feeling and good taste a little more. Beware of the vice of imitation. Because Carlyle has a "*Teufelsdrockh*," it is not indispensible that "The Inspector" should have "*a young friend.*" Imitation is a poor tribute to the man whose greatness consists in his thinking absolutely for himself, and in his writing as he thinks. Imitation, besides, is sure to become a copying of defects, to the neglect of excellencies which no copying can reach. Carlyle, stern as he is, has a kind word for even Robespierre and Marat:* but you, in your *outre* zeal, defy the relentings of our common nature. It is a mistake, as Landor says, to suppose that it is the bristles which give the boar its strength. We may, says another great writer (an *old* friend), have "the nodosities of the oak without its strength: the contortions of the Sibyl without her inspiration." What Johnson is represented in joke to have said of himself and Boswell, may suggest a more modern application:—"People call me a dog, and you a canister tied to my tail." Were you a little more self-relying, (and self-reliance is not incompatible with true modesty, any more than is self-conceit with slavish adulation,) you might find that you are fit for something better than to play the part of Monkey to Carlyle's Bear. We would finally remind you of a fable which you may have seen in Lessing, in the course of your German studies. "The Ape boasted to the Fox,—'Name me an animal so clever that I cannot imitate it.' But the Fox replied, 'Name me one so contemptible as to imitate you.' *Schriftseller—! Muss ich mich noch deutlicher erklaren?*"

I am, yours,
BIOSEBES.

LIVERPOOL, Dec. 3, 1849.

* "His (Robespierre's) landlord, the cabinet maker in the Rue Saint Honoré, loved him; his brother died for him. May God be merciful to him and us."
Carlyle's French Revolution—vol, iii. p. 396.

"Marat, too, had a brother, and natural affections; and was wrapt once in swaddling clothes, and slept safe in a cradle like the rest of us."
Ibid—vol. iii. p. 237.

BODILY EXERCISE:

A SHORT SERMON.

"*Bodily exercise profiteth little, but godliness is profitable unto all things, having the promise of the life which now is, and that which is to come.*—Tim. iv. 8.

What Paul means by bodily exercise, one can hardly tell; but if he means what *we* are accustomed to mean by those words, his statement is erroneous. It is not true that bodily exercise profits little: it profits *much*. It tends to promote health. For want of bodily exercise numbers are ill, and numbers die before their time. Bodily exercise is essential to the free and full development of the human mind. Man cannot excel in anything without bodily exercise. Bodily exercise too is an immediate source of pleasure. Inactivity is painful. You can hardly torment children worse than by keeping them still. You cannot more effectually secure their comfort, their enjoyment, their welfare, than by allowing them freely to exercise themselves.

Bodily exercise is profitable generally. It is by bodily exercise that we obtain our food, our raiment, our houses. It is by bodily exercise too that we obtain our books, our maps, our globes, and our other means of mental improvement. Without bodily exercise we cannot promote the improvement and welfare of our fellowmen. What can the teacher, the preacher, the lecturer, or the missionary do for men, without bodily exercise? What can the temperance reformer, the Anti-Slavery reformer, the political reformer, do for mankind without bodily exercise? Without bodily exercise the moral and intellectual world would stand still, or fall back into destruction.

Then again, where would be all our commerce, all our arts, all our wealth, and all our enjoyments without bodily exercise? We are indebted to bodily exercise for everything we enjoy.

Again; in truth, *all* exercise is bodily exercise. *Mental* exercise is bodily exercise. What is the brain but a part of the body? Yet without exerting the brain we can neither think, nor feel, nor act. The stillest human being on earth therefore is indebted for his thoughts and contemplations, for his affections and abstractions, to bodily exercise.

Paul puts bodily exercise in opposition to godliness; but godliness itself cannot exist without bodily exercise. Godliness means the right worship or the true service of God. But what is the right worship, or the true service of God? I answer, seeking after truth, and laboring to spread it abroad amongst our fellowmen;—improving our own nature, and laboring to improve the nature of those around us:—doing good to our fellow creatures; ministering to their support, their comfort, and their welfare. But all these are bodily exercises. Without bodily exercise we can do none of them. We can neither seek after truth, nor spread it abroad when we have found it;—we can neither improve and perfect our own nature, nor contribute to the improvement and perfection of others without bodily exercise. We can neither be happy ourselves, nor promote the happiness of our neighbors without bodily exercise. Bodily exercise, therefore, is *essential* to godliness. It *mingles* itself with godliness. Godliness cannot exist without it. *Right* bodily exercise and godliness are *one*. There is nothing deserving the name of godliness, which does not consist in the exercise of some part or other of the body.

What shall we say, then, to this saying of Paul? What *can* we say, but that it is a great, a grievous error? If Paul was the author of this saying, how needful it is that we should deal with the sayings of Paul, as he himself, in one of his writings, exhorts us to deal with men's sayings generally,—namely, 'Prove *all* things: hold fast that only which you discover to be good: reject that which you discover to be evil.'

But perhaps Paul was not the author of this saying. These words may be the words of some old heretic, who believed that men could not be religious unless they abstained from commerce, from agriculture, from marriage, and the like. It is not impossible, it is not improbable, that these few words, 'Bodily exercise profiteth little,' are a forgery. It is hardly likely that Paul would represent bodily exercise as of little profit. Was he not famous for bodily exercise himself? Did he not work at his trade as a tent-maker, and by that means support both himself and some of his companions, and enable himself by his bodily exercise to make the gospel free of charge to the nations? Did he not *inculcate* this bodily exercise on his hearers and readers? Did he not tell them, that he himself had labored with his hands on purpose that he might set them an example, and leave without excuse the men who neglected thus to labor? Did he not exhort all to labor with their hands and eat their own bread? And did he not also say, that if a man would not labor neither should he eat? Was not Paul as much the apostle of bodily exercise as of godliness? Nay, did he not himself clearly teach, that without bodily exercise it was impossible for people to be godly;—that the men who profess to be godly while they avoided bodily exercise, were either themselves deluded, or were guilty of wickedly deluding others? We therefore conclude that the words, 'Bodily exercise profiteth little,' cannot reasonably be regarded as the words of Paul,—that they are most probably an interpolation or forgery, designed to justify what Paul condemned, and to disparage what Paul inculcated.

Bodily exercise profiteth much, and woe to the man that neglects or shuns it. Bodily exercise profiteth much, and happy is the man who is careful to learn in what way, and to what extent, to exercise his body.

Bodily exercise has *always* profited much. From the day that man was first created, to the present hour, the world has lived and thrived by bodily exercise. From the day that man was formed, to the present hour, all men have been indebted to bodily exercise for life and health and all things. If mankind should neglect or shun bodily exercise, the race of man would perish. The men who live at present without bodily exercise, live at the expense of others. They eat, and drink, and wear what is not their own. They are plunderers of their brethren. They are oppressors and tormentors of their kind. They, and they only, who exercise their limbs, or their brains, or both,—who employ their bodily faculties to the best of their knowledge, in accordance with the laws of their nature, are deserving to be regarded as godly, as manly, as divine. They, and they only, are to be regarded as good or tolerable specimens of humanity. They and they only will be found to enjoy the full blessedness of their being, either now or in the life to come. Bodily exercise is profitable for all things, if it be well or wisely directed. Its happy results are countless, boundless, and eternal.—*The People.*

WE have had handed us, by the kindness of a friend the last utterance of poor Ebenezer Elliot's extinguished muse. The two stanzas derive, as will be seen, their chief interest from that fact. There is not on them the mark of the strong hand that wrote at the dictation of the passionate yet wise heart. They bear date "Nov. 23, 1849,"—when the lamp was already burning dim. "Desire had almost "failed" and "the daughters of music" were already "brought low." He had marked them as a song—to be sung to the tune of "'Tis time this heart should be unmoved." Here they are:

Thy notes sweet Robin soft as dew,
Heard soon or late are dear to me;
To music I could bid adieu—
But not to thee.

When from my heart earth's lifeful throng
Shall pass away, no more to be,
O Autumn's primrose, robin's song,
Return to me!

Eight days later, the primrose was scentless and the robin silent for him